

# PROCEEDINGS

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AMERICAN ACADEMY  
FOR  
JEWISH RESEARCH

VOL. V  
1933—1934

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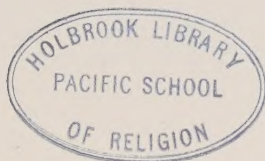
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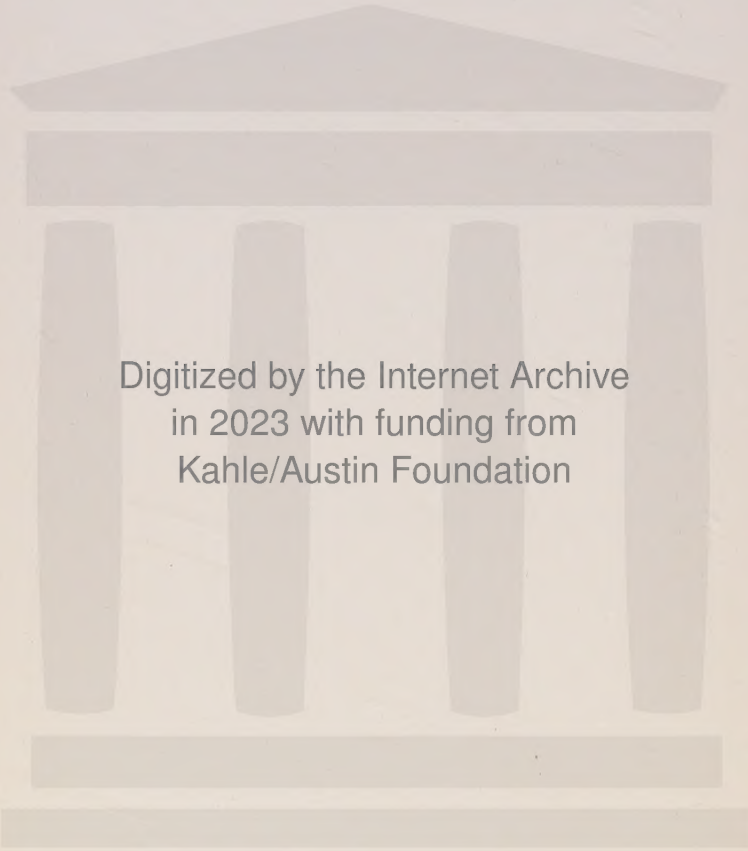
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## INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The American Academy for Jewish Research was organized on June 15th, 1920. Its purpose is to foster and promote the cause of Jewish learning and research. The Academy shall endeavor to achieve this end through:

1. The holding of periodical meetings at which learned papers shall be presented and discussed.
2. The formulation and carrying into effect of scholarly undertakings of a cooperative character.
3. The issuance of publications.
4. The promotion of relation of fellowship and cooperation between scholars and learned organizations in America and those in other countries.
5. Furnishing opinions upon scholarly projects submitted to the Academy.
6. And such other means as may, from time to time, be determined by the Academy.

The Academy was incorporated under the laws of Maryland on December 20th, 1929.

The following officers have been elected to serve during the year 1934: President—Professor Alexander Marx; Vice-President—Professor Israel Davidson; Corresponding Secretary—Professor Salo W. Baron; Recording Secretary—Dr. Leo Jung; Treasurer—Professor Jacob Z. Lauterbach.

In addition to the officers the following members of the Executive Committee have been elected to serve during the year 1934: Dr. H. G. Enelow, New York City; Professor Louis Ginzberg, New York City; William Gresser, New York City; Professor Isaac Husik, Philadelphia, Pa.; President Julian Morgenstern, Cincinnati, Ohio; Professor Solomon Zeitlin, Philadelphia, Pa.

The membership of the Academy is made up as follows:

- a. Fellows, scholars who have made notable contributions to Jewish research.
- b. Patrons, persons contributing not less than one hundred dollars to the Academy.

c. Contributing Members, persons contributing not less than twenty-five dollars a year to the Academy.

d. Members, persons who pay dues of five dollars a year.

Patrons, Contributing Members and Members are elected by the Executive Committee.

A public meeting was held on December 27th, 1933 at which the following papers were presented by:

1. Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser, *Tde Bible Exegesis of the School of Yabneh*.
2. Professor Israel Davidson, *Salmon Ben Yeruhim and His Controversy with Saadia*.
3. Doctor Leo Jung, *Notes on Jewish Folklore*.
4. Doctor Samuel Kurland, *An Unidentified Hebrew Translation of Aristotle's de Generatione et Corruptione*.
5. Professor Jacob Z. Lauterbach, *Misunderstood Chronological Statements in the Talmud*.
6. Doctor Joseph Marcus, *The Early Italian Poet Silano*.
7. Professor Alexander Marx, *Zunz's Letters to Steinschneider*.

Special meetings of the Fellows of the Academy were held on March 12th and June 11th, 1934. At the former Professor Louis Finkelstein presented a paper on *The Mekilta and its Text*, which is included in the present volume. The other Fellows reported informally on the progress of their researches.

During the past year the Academy has sustained irreparable losses through the death of two of its Honorary Members and two Fellows. On December 31st, 1933 Doctor George Alexander Kohut, and on February 5th, 1934, Doctor Hyman G. Enelow, both for many years Honorary Members and members of the Executive Committee, ended their earthly careers. On February 18th Doctor Caspar Levias, Fellow, and on March 19th Professor David S. Blondheim, Fellow and for many years Corresponding Secretary of the Academy, passed away. Their important contributions to Jewish scholarship and their active participation in the work of the Academy has secured them forever a place of honor in the annals of this organization.



## THE MEKILTA AND ITS TEXT

LOUIS FINKELSTEIN

The appearance of a new edition of a tannaitic work is certainly an event of foremost importance in the world of Jewish learning.\* Every student who has had to struggle with the confused texts provided by our printers knows how tentative and indefinite all theories concerning the beginnings of rabbinic Judaism must be, as long as they are based on records which future research may show to have originated with no better authority than a late copyist. It is safe to say that in no other major field of scholarship are students compelled to use such wretched texts as those on which the Talmudic student must still rely.

Aside from Marx's edition of *Seder Olam Rabbah*, Malter's edition of *Ta'anit*, Higger's edition of the extra-canonical tractates, Lichtenstein's edition of *Megillat Ta'anit*, and Theodor's great edition of *Bereshit Rabbah*, there is not one Talmudic work which has been properly prepared for the research worker. We are still awaiting critical editions not only of the great Rabbinic works, the Mishna, the Tosefta, and the Talmud, but even of the smaller Tannaitic Midrashim. It is therefore with much joy that the student finds before him two editions of the Mekilta, in both of which practically all the available Mss. and editions, were utilized. The first edition, that of Horovitz (completed after his death by Rabin) appeared in

\*This paper was read at the meeting of the Fellows of the American Academy for Jewish Research, held on March 12, 1934. I am grateful for the assistance which I received from Professor Alexander Marx in the preparation of this study, in which I have generally followed the methodology of Jewish text-editing which he has developed. I am also grateful to all who took part in the discussion following the paper. Where I accepted the suggestions, they are incorporated in the paper; otherwise, I have indicated them in the footnotes.

Germany some years ago,<sup>1</sup> and now we have before us the second, that of Lauterbach, prepared for the Jewish Classics Series.<sup>2</sup>

It is fair to say at once that Horovitz's edition is far superior to any that appeared before it.<sup>3</sup> It gives us all the readings of the preserved witnesses to the text of the *Mekilta* (except for a few Genizah fragments); it provides in full measure the necessary cross references to other rabbinic and kindred works; and finally supplies an erudite and illuminating commentary to the work.

Lauterbach's edition, in its present form, gives only a select

<sup>1</sup> *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael, cum variis lectionibus et adnotationibus, edidit* H. S. Horovitz, *defuncti editoris opus exornavit et absolvit* I. A. Rabin. Francoforti ad Moenum: In aedibus J. Kauffmann, 1931. (Published by the *Gesellschaft zur Foerderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Berlin.)

<sup>2</sup> *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, a critical edition on the basis of the manuscripts and early editions with an English translation, introduction, and notes by Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Ph.D. Professor at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933. Vol. I, pp. lxx + 255; Vol. II, pp. 292. (Vol. III, containing the portion relating to *Mishpatim*, has not appeared at the time of this writing.)

<sup>3</sup> The following are the earlier editions of the *Mekilta*: (1) Constantinople 1515; (2) Venice 1545 (apparently independent of ed. pr.); (3) Amsterdam 1712, based on Venice 1545, published with commentary by R. Simeon Frankfurter, entitled *זה יחמנו*; (4) Venice 1752, with Latin translation, in the *Thesaurus* of Ugolinus, Vol. XIV; (5) Leghorn 1801, with commentary entitled *שבוע יהודה* by R. Judah Najar (this edition made use of some independent Ms. material); (6) Wilna 1844 with the commentary with notes by R. Elijah Gaon of Wilna, and *ברורי המדות* by R. Isaac Elijah Landau; (7) ed. Weiss, Vienna 1865, with commentary entitled *מדות סופרים* (this edition is based on the first editions, and is the first attempt at a scientific edition); (8) ed. Friedmann, with commentary entitled *מאיר עין*, Vienna 1870. (This edition marks a great step forward in the establishment of the text of the *Mekilta*. It is plentifully supplied with cross-references to other parts of Talmudic literature; the author made a number of excellent emendations and offered several fine readings on the basis of the *Yalkut*, the *Pesiqta Zutreta*, the citations in Nahmanides and other early writers); (9) Warsaw 1877 together with the text of the Book of Exodus, and the commentary of Malbim on that book. (This edition contains notes from R. Elijah Gaon of Wilna); (10) Lemberg 1894, with commentary; (11) Berlin 1925, a reproduction of ed. Constantinople 1515; (12) Berlin 1925, a reproduction of ed. Venice 1545; (13) Warsaw 1927 with commentary *זה יחמנו* reprinted from ed. Amsterdam 1712, and with additional commentary *באר אברהם*.



list of variants and of cross references. On the other hand its text is, as we shall soon see, definitely superior to Horovitz's, and it has also utilized the Genizah fragments and one or two other fragmentary sources which were not available for Horovitz. It is to be hoped that the complete apparatus, containing full details of the variants, collected by Lauterbach with such care and diligence will soon be made available to Jewish scholars, so that they may profit by it in their use of this interesting Talmudic work. But already, Lauterbach has placed the learned world in his debt by providing this beautiful edition of this work, with a fine, lucid translation, and an excellent introduction which illumine many difficult points. He has frequently been able to resolve knotty texts, which had defied centuries of patient exegesis. It is the excellence of both Horovitz's and Lauterbach's editions which makes it incumbent on the critic to point out the difficulties under which they labored, and the manner in which future editors may escape some of the pitfalls into which they were ensnared.

## I.

A careful study of these editions, as well as the problems which I met in preparing an edition of the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy, have convinced me of the need of establishing a consensus with regard to the methodology of editing rabbinic works. The basis of such a methodology must, of course, necessarily be an understanding of the purposes to be achieved by the editor. These seem to me to be twofold:

1. To present to the student all the available information about the text, including the variant readings from manuscripts, editions, and citations, so far as they are available.
2. To guide the student in his approach to the text. For after all, the editor will have spent more time on the work than any student can give it, and he knows it better than any other person. The student is therefore entitled to have not only the benefit of the editor's observations, but also of his theories and conjectures. The editor may prefer to escape this responsibility which leaves him open to criticism

of all whose opinions differ from his, but it is as essential a part of his work as the collation of the variants.

This is particularly true with regard to rabbinic works where the judgment with regard to the correct text frequently involves abstruse discussion of legalistic arguments. The editor, having worked the matter out in his own mind, should try to save the student the trouble of having to do it all over again.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The following are texts of the *Mekilta* considered in this article. I have used Horovitz's *sigla* to indicate them because of their convenience, and to make this article uniform with that on the *Sifre* (Proceedings, 1931-2, 1ff.) where I necessarily adopted Horovitz's *sigla*. For the texts which Horovitz did not use, I have adopted Lauterbach's *sigla*.

Ms. Oxford 151 (n. 2).....	א
Ed. Venice, 1545.....	י
<i>Sefer Vehizhir</i> .....	ז
<i>Yalkut</i> .....	ט
Ms. Munich, Cod. Hebr. 117 (1).....	כ
<i>Midrash Hakamim</i> .....	מ
Ms. Casanata 2736 (Catalogue of G. Sacerdote, Florence, 1897, No. 67)....	ס
<i>Pesiqta Zutreta</i> .....	פ
Ed. Constantinople, 1515.....	ק
Ms. Vatican (Ebraico 299).....	ר

The Vatican Ms. was not utilized by either of the editors, and photographs of it were obtained for me through the kindness of Professor Alexander Marx, and Mgr. Tisserant of the Vatican Library. It covers the *Mekilta* from the words *אחא מלקטת* [ריביה] *Jethro, Bahodesh*, Chap. I (ed. Friedmann, 61a, last line; Horovitz-Rabin, p. 203, line 11; and Lauterbach, Vol. II, p. 193, line 19) to the end. After the fourth leaf, there are inserted eight leaves, which were misplaced by the binder, and contain the *Mekilta* to the Song of Moses, beginning with the words *אברהם יצחק ויעקב* *Beshallah, Vayehi*, chap. 2 (ed. Friedmann 28a, line 10; Horovitz-Rabin p. 92, line 1; Lauterbach, Vol. I, p. 207, line 27), and ending with the words *זה החלם לעשה* in *Beshallah, Shirah* chap. 5 (ed. Friedmann 38b, line 31; Horovitz-Rabin, p. 133, line 17; Lauterbach, Vol. II, p. 40, line 43).

Unfortunately the photographs arrived too late to be fully examined before this volume was sent to press. I have only been able to indicate the readings of the text to those passages which occur in it, and to reach some tentative conclusions about its origin and its relation to the other texts.

The Ms. is written in square characters, and this makes it difficult to determine the exact century and country of its origin. But from the cursory examination I have been able to give it, I believe that it is of Spanish origin, probably about the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. But its readings

(1A) Thus, e.g. on page 271 line 13 of Horovitz's edition we read the following *baraita*:

את עבדו או את אמתו לחייב על זה בפני עצמו ועל זה בפני עצמו ר' אליעזר אומר בכנעני הכתוב מדבר. אחה אומר בכנעני הכתוב מדבר או אינו מדבר אלא בעברי ת"ל מהם תקנו עבד ואמה הקיש עבד לאמה ואמה לעבד. מה עבד שגדלו וקטנו עבד אף אמה שגדלה וקטנה אמה יצא עבד עברי שאעפ"י שגדלו עבד אין קטנו עבד יצאת אמה העבריה שאעפ"י שקטנה אמה אין גדלה אמה.

The difficulties in this *baraita* are many. The verse מהם תקנו עבד ואמה which is cited, does not bear on the question at all. Obviously, as Horovitz and others have noticed, the text should read עבדו ואמתו, as in the parallel passage on page 272, line 4: ת"ל עבדו ואמתו מה עבדו שכלו שלו אף אמה שכלה שלו. Even more significantly, the phrase מה עבד שגדלו וקטנו עבד אף אמה שגדלה וקטנה אמה is meaningless, as it stands.

Yet all the texts agree, substantially, in accepting this form of the *baraita*. The only one which has a different reading is *Midrash Hakamim* (מ), which gives us an obvious emendation, reading as it does: שנ' כאן עבדו ואמתו ואמר להלן מהם: תקנו עבד ואמה מה להלן בכנענים הכתוב מדבר אף כאן בכנענים הכתוב מדבר. But this emended text is too far from that preserved in the others to be the original.

It seems to me obvious that the original text of the *baraita* was as follows:

ת"ל עבדו ואמתו הקיש עבד לאמה ואמה לעבד מה אמה שקטנה אמה אף עבד שקטנו עבד יצא עבד עברי שאעפ"י שגדלו עבד אין קטנו עבד; ומה עבד שגדלו עבד אף אמה שגדלה אמה יצאת אמה העבריה שאעפ"י שקטנה אמה אין גדלה אמה.

The point of the *baraita* is that the Hebrew slave cannot be sold as a minor, and the Hebrew slave girl cannot be sold in her maturity. Since the Scriptures speak of the male and female slaves together, it must speak of the type which can be held in

generally agree with those of the Oxford, Munich, and Casanata Mss., (which I take to be an Italian group), as can be seen from examples 4F, 4G, 4H, 4I, 4J, 4U, 5B, 5I, 5J, 5K, 6F, 6I, 6J, 6K, below. This, however, is not decisive regarding the country of writing, since we find an example of this group of texts in Spain in citations of *Pugio Fidei* (see examples 4R—4W).



bondage both before and after puberty, namely the heathen slaves.

A consideration of this emended text makes it certain that it should have been introduced into the *Mekilta*, instead of retaining the corrupt readings of the copyists. Usually, however, the change required is less radical, involving nothing more than the correction or the replacement of a single letter. One of such cryptic passages in our texts of the *Mekilta* is that on page 26, line 19 of ed. Horovitz (corresponding to I. 61, line 11, of ed. Lauterbach). It reads as follows:

(1B) שבעת ימים. עם יום טוב הראשון, אתה אומר כן או אינו אלא חוץ ליום טוב הראשון ת"ל עד יום האחד ועשרים, אי עד יום האחד ועשרים או צ"א סמוך לעשרים ת"ל שבעת ימים מצות תאכלו.

Lauterbach accepts the text *לעשרים סמוך אוציא* and vainly tries to give it some meaning. Horovitz recognizes in a note (though he does not improve his main text) that the correct reading of the number is not *לעשרים* as most texts have, but *לעשרים ואחד* as *Midrash Hakamim* has it. He then makes the excellent suggestion that *לעשרים סמוך* and *אוציא* are variant readings which have been united into the basic text of the *Mekilta*. This gives him one clear version: *לעשרים ואחד יום אוציא* which means, "Since the Scriptures say, 'Until the twenty-first day,' I might suppose that this excludes the twenty-first day itself" on the principle of *עד ולא עד בכלל*. But he is less successful in explaining the variant *סמוך*. This word, however, is easily explained if we recall that it occurs elsewhere as an error for *סוכם* (see *Sifre* Deut. 286, ed. Friedmann 125a, line 15;<sup>5</sup> and Mishna *Makkot* 3.10, where the ordinary texts read *לסמוך* *לארבעים* while the Munich Ms. has correctly *לסוכם* *לארבעים*). The word *סוכם* means "arithmetically next below," "running up to." The obscure phrase in the *Mekilta* therefore read originally: *אי עד יום האחד ועשרים סוכם לעשרים ואחד*. This was explained first by the addition of

<sup>5</sup> See Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 1931-2, p. 15. For the correct reading of Mishna *Makkot*, see *Diqduqe Soferim*, *ad loc.*, and the notes of R. Isaiah Berlin on the margin of the Wilna ed. of the Talmud. He cites in support of the reading *סוכם*, Rashi, R. Moses of Coucy, and R. Nissim. It is strange, however, that both the Mishna text in the *Jerushalmi*, and ed. Loewe, read *סמוך*.

the explanatory variant ארציא before סוכם; and finally סוכם became סמך.

But more frequently, it is not necessary to resort to conjecture to establish the correct text. It can be obtained by comparing the various readings with one another. Horovitz does this only rarely, generally preferring the reading of the printed editions to all others. Lauterbach accepts the reading of the Mss. when they agree; when they disagree, he takes the reading which agrees with the printed editions. But in following this rule he commits two grave errors:

1. He says (Introduction p. xxxvi) that "where the variant readings do not affect the real sense of the passage, the editor deemed it advisable to retain in most instances the reading of the editions in preference to that of the Mss." But this method takes no account of the student's right to a precise text even when "the real sense of the passage" is unaffected. The editor presumes too much when he takes it for granted that what seems to him a slight error is really inconsequential. After all, if the student tries to compare a *baraita* in the *Mekilta* with a parallel passage elsewhere he is entitled to have not only an approximate text before him, but one as nearly accurate as possible. This is all the more important in an edition like Lauterbach's which supplies only select variants, and omits those which appear to the editor of slight importance.

2. Further, Lauterbach does not take into sufficient consideration the readings of the *Midrash Hakamim*.<sup>6</sup> He holds that since the work is a compilation, its authority is secondary. This is indeed partially true. Yet it must be remembered that the *Midrash Hakamim* generally transcribes the text accurately, and with precision. I have been able to prove this for the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy, because a fortunate discovery by Prof. Weill brought to light a Ms. of the *Sifre* whose readings belong to the same class as those of the *Midrash Hakamim*. Both for the *Sifre* and the *Mekilta* the readings of the text have a special value, however, because it belongs to a different group of texts

<sup>6</sup> For a description of this text, see *Proceedings ibid.* p. 16.

than any other available. To neglect its testimony to the correct reading of the *Mekilta* is to throw away a most useful instrument.

Both Horovitz and Lauterbach use other sources even less willingly. Thus on page 229, line 14 of the Horovitz ed. corresponding to Vol II, page 253 of Lauterbach, we read: לקדשו. לקדשו בברכה מכאן אמרו מקדשין על היין בכניסתו. אין לי (1C) אלא קדושה ליום קדושה ללילה מנין ת"ל ושמרתם את השבת. The copyists to whom we owe this reading apparently did not realize that קדושה here does not mean *holiness*, which might inhere in the Sabbath Day more probably than in the Sabbath Eve, but the *Kiddush*, which is more natural at the Sabbath Eve. In fact the preceding *baraita* prescribes it for the Sabbath Eve and it is upon that statement that our *baraita* depends. Hence the *baraita* should read: אין לי אלא קדושה ללילה, קדושה ליום מנין. This text is actually found not only in the *Sefer Vehizhir*, but also in a citation of the *baraita* in *Menorat Ha-Maor* (chap. 155), and in *Midrash Tannaim* to Deuteronomy (p. 21). A similar text is found in *Midrash Hakamim*. Yet both Lauterbach and Horovitz preserve the erroneous reading.<sup>7</sup>

On page 144, line 19 (Lauterbach, II, page 56, line 100) we read the following *baraita*: (1D) אראנו נפלאות, אראנו מה (1D) שלא הראיתי אל אבות שהרי נסים וגבורות שאני עתיד לעשות עם הבנים יותר. הם ממה שעשיתי לאבות. The text of the *editio princeps* which Horovitz adopts is sufficiently confused, but Lauterbach following his usual rule to adopt the reading of the Mss. when they agree, in substance, gives the following impossible text: אראנו נפלאות, אראנו מה שלא הראיתי לאבות שהרי נסים וגבורות שאני עתיד לעשות עם הבנים יותר מהפלא נפלאות מה שלא עשיתי עם האבות.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Pesahim* 106a, where the Talmud similarly emends its text of the *baraita* which agreed with that of the ordinary *Mekilta* texts. When this paper was read at the meeting of the Academy, Professor Louis Ginzberg suggested that in view of the agreement of the Talmudic text of the *baraita* with that of ed. pr. the reading be retained, essentially, and the textual difficulties met by the transposition of the phrases. He would therefore read: לקדשו, בברכה. אין לי אלא קדושה ליום קדושה ללילה מנין ת"ל ושמרתם את השבת מכאן אמרו מקדשין על היין בכניסתו. But the support of the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* for Deuteronomy, the *Sefer Vehizhir*, and the *Menorat Ha-Maor* for my emendation, seems to me decisive in the matter. It is to be noted however, that the reading of ed. pr. is supported by א כ ר ט.



It is clear that the text of the Mss. is older than that of the editions. But it is itself composite of two parallel readings. The correct reading is to be found in *Midrash Hakamim*, the text of which is as follows: **אראנו נפלאות אני עתיד לעשות עם הבנים נפלאות שלא עשיתי עם האבות.**

On page 139, line 18 of ed. Horovitz, corresponding to Vol. II, page 55, line 22, of ed. Lauterbach, we read: **כיון שראו מקצת העם שאבדו ממונם מועט אמרו הוותרא לא נדרוף אחרי בני ישראל הוותרה מא נותרה ס**. The strange word **הוותרה** has the following variants: **הוותרה ט ל' ד**. The correct reading, however, as indicated by Hoffmann, is that found in the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon: **הא ותרא**. The same expression is found in *Midrash Tannaim* 1, 1 (page 2, line 24) and in corrupted form in the corresponding passage of the *Sifre* (§ 1).<sup>8</sup> But Horovitz as usual retains the text of ed. pr., and Lauterbach, in spite of Hoffmann's note, adopts the reading of Ms. **א**.

No less serious than the failure of the editors to depart from the older text when it is patently erroneous, is their effort to guess at the correct text without authority in the Mss. or other sources. Thus ed. Lauterbach, Vol. II, page 78, line 24, reads: **מכון לשבתך, מכון לשבתך, זה אחד מן הדברים שכסא של מטה מכון כנגד (1F) כסא של מעלה וכה"א ה' בהיכל קדשו ה' בשמים כסא ואומר בנה בניתי בית זבול לך מכון לשבתך עולמים.**

It is possible that this interpretation is based on the reading **מכון** for **מכון**; though this is by no means certain, as the interpretation would derive naturally from a literal translation of the verse. If Jerusalem or Palestine is described as "a place for God to dwell in," then it must be that the throne below corresponds to the Heavenly throne above. At any rate the author of the *Pesiqta Zutreta* added at the beginning of the *baraita* the words: **פירושו מכון לשבתך**. These are not found in any other text; yet Lauterbach inserts at the beginning of the *baraita*, the words **מכון לשבתך** and punctuates them, as though there was some Ms. authority for so doing. To make matters worse, he indicates in the variants only that the words are missing in the editions,

<sup>8</sup> It is also found in *Midrash Tannaim* 32.25 (P. 197) and in *Jer. Sukka* 5.6 (55c).

when actually they are found in no source. He says, referring to the *Pesiqta* ועל פי זה נקדתי when the truth is that he emended the text not only through punctuating the words, but by inserting them.

A curious combination of both types of error occurs in connection with the following *baraita*, found in ed. Horovitz, page 151, line 16 (Lauterbach, II, page 82, line 79). Ed. Horovitz reads:

וכן כזבי בת נשיא מדין אחותם (במדבר כ"ה י"ח) וכי אחותם  
היתה והלא בת ראש אומות בית אב היתה שנאמר ולכהן מדין שבע בנות  
(שמות ב' ט"ז) ומה ת"ל אחותם אלא על שנתנה נפשה על אומתה נקראת אמתה  
על שמה.

The verse ולכהן מדין שבע בנות which has no connection here is obviously a copyist's error for (במדבר) הוא במדין הוא (כ"ה ט"ז). As I have shown elsewhere, the verses were frequently indicated in old sources merely by the initial letters of their words.<sup>9</sup> Apparently the only word of this verse spelt out completely in the parent text was מדין and this led the copyists to decipher it as the well known verse ולכהן מדין שבע בנות. *Midrash Hakamim* noticing the incongruity of the verse in the text before him, but unable to guess at the correct text, omitted it altogether. In the אמת אמת the proper correction is made, but Horovitz adheres to the original text, though he admittedly cannot make sense of it.

Lauterbach accepts the emendation, but unnecessarily changes the words והלא ראש באומתה היתה to והלא ראש אומות בית אב היתה in accordance with the Munich Ms. of the *Mekilta* and the Casanata Ms., and rejecting the more natural reading found in all the other sources, ז מ ט ד.

On the other hand, he retains the reading על שמה נקראת אומתה at the end of the *baraita*, although the *Midrash IIakamim* has preserved the undoubtedly correct text: נקראת אחותם, for the people were not called by her name; she was merely called "their sister."

<sup>9</sup> Proceedings, cited above p. 22, note 15. The fact had been remarked already by Professor Marx in his Introduction to *Seder Olam Rabbah*, p. XVIII; and by Professor Ginzberg, in his *Geonica*, Vol. II, p. 305, where the explanation of the phenomenon is also given.

These difficulties would have been avoided had the editors taken the trouble to classify their texts in families showing their relation to each other. That would have indicated to them the relation of the Mss. to the editions, and of the *Midrash Hakamim*, the *Sefer Vehizhir*, and the Yemenite sources to one another. In the following pages, I attempt to make this classification, and we shall see how many passages are illuminated through it.

## II. The Printed Editions.

The Venice edition of 1545 is clearly independent of that published in Constantinople, thirty years earlier. There are a number of readings to be found in this edition which could not be scribal errors, and must go back to an independent source. But the source used by the Venice edition belongs to the same group as those which were utilized for the Constantinople edition. This can be demonstrated by a comparison of the two editions, which are so similar that their readings are most frequently simply marked  $\tau$  by both Lauterbach and Horovitz, without attempting any distinction between them. The following are examples of a few errors which are found in both editions, and in no other source, showing beyond question that they have the same manuscript paternity<sup>10</sup>:

<sup>10</sup> The similarity of the editions extends to the divisions into chapters, and the remarks at the end of the various divisions, which are practically always identical. Only at the end of Jethro, Constantinople reads: חסלה פרשה וישמע יחרו תהלה לברוך יוצרו אשר כבש את יצרו אשר בא לחסות תחת כנפיו while Venice has simply: חסלה פרשה יחרו. I even suggest, with some hesitation, that the chapters were numbered in the parent text of the two editions, since both keep the same enumeration, although the heading of Chapter 2, in *Mekilta Bo*, is omitted in the Constantinople edition. The printer could hardly have numbered the following chapter 3, unless he had found it so indicated in his source. This is further confirmed by the numbering of the chapters in *Masseket Shira*, *Beshallah*. This portion has ten chapters, but apparently the parent text of the two editions, although it marked off all the ten chapters, numbered the last three not י' ח' ט' but ו' ח' ח'. Whether this was because the enumeration of some preceding chapters was omitted, or the numbers were simply repeated we cannot tell. But ed. Constantinople after counting up the chapters to ח' (which is the correct number for the chapter beginning with במוכה באלים מי,

- (2A) Page 6, line 8 (Lauterbach I, p. 15, line 162)  
 כרם אין סייג למה א כ ט  
 אם אין כרם אין סייג ק ו
- (2B) Page 8, line 6 (Lauterbach I, p. 20, line 58)  
 אתה עושה מ  
 נמצאת עושה א כ ט  
 נמצאת אתה עושה ק ו
- (2C) Page 128, line 13 (Lauterbach II, p. 28, line 86)  
 כשישראל עושין רצונו של מקום מתגדל שמו [שמו מתגדל מ א]  
 בעולם מ א כ ט  
 כשישראל עושין רצונו של מקום אז מתגדל שמו בעולם ו ק
- (2D) Page 130, line 12 (Lauterbach II, p. 32, line 40)  
 יש גבור במדינה כיון שקנאה וגבורה לובשתו אפילו אביו אפילו קרובו מכה  
 והולך בחמה מ  
 יש גבור במדינה שמי שקנאה [שבקנאה א שקנאה ט] לובשתו אפילו אביו  
 אפילו קרובו מכה [הכל מכה ט מכהו א] והולך [הולך א] בחמה  
 א כ ר ט  
 יש גבור במדינה שמשקנאה וגבורה לובשתו אפילו אביו אפילו אמו  
 ואפילו קרובו הכל מכה בחמה והולך לו ו ק
- (2E) Page 148, line 14 (Lauterbach II, p. 76, line 121)  
 אברהם נקרא קנין שנא' ויברכהו ויאמר ברוך אברהם לאל עליון קונה שמים  
 וארץ מ  
 א'י נקראת קנין שנא' קונה שמים וארץ כ ס [ורשב"י]  
 א'י נקראת קנין שנא' הר זה קנתה ימינו אברהם נקרא קנין שנ' ויברכהו  
 ויאמר ברוך אברהם לאל עליון קונה שמים וארץ ט  
 שמים וארץ נקראו קנין שנאמר קונה שמים וארץ ק ו
- (2F) Page 149, line 10 (Lauterbach II, p. 77, line 9)  
 ד"א תביאמו ותטעמו נטיעה שאין בה נ ת י ש ה מ כ ס [ורשב"י]  
 ד"א תביאמו ותטעמו נטיעה שאין בה נ ט י ש ה ט  
 ד"א תביאמו ותטעמו נטיעה שאין בה נ ת י צ ה ק ו

Horovitz, p. 141, line 15; Lauterbach II, p. 59) marks as 'ו' the following chapter, beginning נטית ימיך (Horovitz, p. 145, line 1; Lauterbach II, p. 67). It omits 'ו', and then counts the chapter beginning ותטעמו as 'ח', although it is really the tenth (ed. Horovitz, p. 149, line 5; Lauterbach II, p. 76). On the other hand, ed. Venice, which corrected the 'ו' before נטית ימיך into 'ט', apparently realized when the same enumeration was found before ותטעמו that this was no simple copyist's error and copied 'פרשה ח'. The fact that the tenth chapter is thus numbered in both editions, shows that they relied on an earlier enumeration.



(2G) Page 257, line 11

דברי ר' יונתן בן אבטלמוס א כ ט  
דברי ר' יונתן. בן אבטלמוס אומר ו ק

(2H) Page 270, line 7

מתנוונה מ א כ ר ט ורמב"ן  
בשווקים ו ק

(2I) Page 271, line 3

שאם נתרפא וחזר נתרפא וחזר אפי' ד' וה' פעמים חייב לרפאותו מ  
נתרפא וחזר נתרפא וחזר אפי' ד' וה' פעמים חייב לרפאותו ת"ל ורפא  
ירפא א כ ט ר  
שאם נתרפא . . . ת"ל ורפא ירפא ו ק  
[ב ו ק נתאחדו גרסת מ עם גרסת א כ ר ט]

(2J) Page 276, line 3

שכר חיה כ ר ט  
שכר דמי חיה ו ק

### III. The *Yalkut*.

Closely related to the text of the printed editions is that utilized in the *Yalkut Shimoni*. The following readings, common to the *Yalkut Shimoni* text and the printed editions and not found in any other source, give evidence of this intimate relationship:

(3A) Page 4, line 11 (Lauterbach I, p. 10, line 105)

וכן אתה מוצא שהאבות והנביאים נותנים [נתנו א] נפשם על  
ישראל מ א כ [מכירי]

וכן תמצא האבות והנביאים היו נותנים עצמם על ישראל ט ו ק

(3B) Page 7, line 10 (Lauterbach I, p. 18, line 32)

ואומר וחג האסיף בצאת שנה מ א כ ל. ל' ט ו ק וחסר על ידי שויון  
המלים]

(3C) Page 9, line 6 (Lauterbach I, p. 22, line 1)<sup>11</sup>

עדת ישראל מ א כ [מסורה]  
עדת בני ישראל ט ו ק

<sup>11</sup> It is undoubtedly true that עדת בני ישראל is the correct reading, as is indicated by Hoffmann in his notes to *Mekilta* of R. Simeon, p. 8, note f; but it is also obvious that three texts which have retained it are probably associated with one another. The same variation between the texts is repeated on p. 10, line 1 (Lauterbach, p. 23, line 15) and p. 10, line 7 (Lauterbach p. 24, line 26).

- (3D) Page 126, line 18 (Lauterbach II, p. 24, line 25)  
 ויהי לי לישועה היה לי ויהיה לי, היה לי לשעבר ויהיה לי לעתיד  
 לבא א כ ר ורשב"י, וגם בקטע המובא אצל גינצבורג, נמ' שכטר,  
 ח"א, ע' 344 [נהמלים המסומנים בפזור האותיות חסרים בט ו ק וגם  
 בכ"מ, וברור שעל ידי שויון המלים נשמטו]

- (3E) Page 270, line 13.

שיתרפא מ פ  
 שנתרפא א כ ר  
 שמרפא ט ו ק

- (3F) Page 277, line 8

ממש א כ ר  
 ממון ט ו ק

It is interesting to recall that a similar kinship was observed between the text of ed. pr. of the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy and the readings of the *Yalkut*.<sup>12</sup> This would indicate that the editions of the *Mekilta* like those of the *Sifre* derive from a text related to the "French" family, with which the *Yalkut* readings are generally associated. This surmise is strengthened by the following parallels between readings of the editions of the *Mekilta* and those found in citations of French authorities.

- (3G) Page 19, line 5 (Lauterbach I, p. 46, line 36)  
 ולמה [למה א] אמרו [ <חכמים> א] עד חצות להרחיק אדם [ל' א]  
 מן העבירה מ א  
 להרחיק מן העבירה כ  
 מפני מה [למה ט] אמרו [ <חכמים> ט] עד חצות כדי להרחיק אדם  
 מן העבירה ט ו ק [מחזור ויטרי ע' 465]  
 (3H) Page 98, line 19 (Lauterbach I, p. 220, line 55)<sup>12a</sup>  
 ר' אלעזר בר' יהודה מ

<sup>12</sup> Proceedings, cited above, p. 8ff.

<sup>12a</sup> It seems a plausible assumption that the corruptions in the *Yalkut* and the Edds. are related. More significant variants common to *Yalkut* and Edds. are cited, in other connections, under 4 I; 4O; 10 B. It is noteworthy, however, that there was current in France a text more akin to that of א-כ, and that this was used by Rashi (cf. below 4 D; 101 OB). This explains the relation between the reading of Mahzor Vitry and the MSS. in the example here given. In *Tosafot Menahot* 34b, catchword והקורא, the *Mekilta* is cited according to the reading found in כט, as follows: בארבע מקומות מוכיר פרשת הפילין. The reading of אמ is: בארבע מקומות מוכירין פרשת הפילין. The reading of וק is: בארבע מקומות מוכירין פרשת הפילין.

ר' אלעזר בן יהודה איש כפר תותא כ ר  
 ר' אלעזר איש כפר תותא א  
 ר' אלעזר בן עזריה איש כפר ביתר ט  
 ר' אלעזר בן יהודה איש בר תותא ו ק  
 [ובמחזור ויטרי (ע' 509) איתא, ובמכילתא בפרשת ויושע שנינו איש  
 כפר תותא]

(3I) Page 171, line 18 (Lauterbach II, p. 125, line 69)

כלי שהוא מצין יותר מחברו [ושב"]  
 דבר שהוא מצין מחברו [את חברו, ש"ט] מ א כ : [ש"ט]  
 דבר שהוא צונן ומצין מחברו פ  
 דבר שהוא מצין מחברו ט ו ק [וכן היתה גרסת בעלי התוספות על  
 התורה]

The close relation between the text of the printed edition and the French sources permit us to group them as a single family, which we may call the French texts.

#### IV. The Manuscripts.

A further examination of the witnesses to the text of the *Mekilta* discloses the interesting fact that the two manuscripts which have been preserved almost in their entirety, namely Oxford and Munich, are closely akin to each other. This must be obvious to any student who looks over the variants in the Horovitz edition and notices how frequently the sigla א כ are found together in his list of variants. The following examples of errors found in both of these texts, and in none other, will show their intimate relationship to each other:

(4A) Page 4, line 8.

אפשר א כ  
 אפשרי מ ט ו ק

(4B) Page 11, line 9

בלבד שיניח א כ  
 בלבד שלא יניח מ ט ו ק

(4C) Page 12, line 7

לשון פריסי כ  
 לשון פרסי א  
 לשון סורסי מ ט ו ק

- (4D) Page 169, line 12

ר' יהושע אומר למדנו שאינו יורד בשבת ביו"ט מנין ת"ל לא  
יהיה בו ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר למדנו שאינו  
יורד בשבת ביו"ט מנין ת"ל לא יהיה בו [הנסמן בפזר האותיות  
חסר בא כ וכן נראה שהיתה גרסת רש"י ע"ש]

- (4E) Page 188, line 1

וישמע יתרו כהן מדין מה שמועה שמע ובא מלחמת עמלק שמע  
ובא שהיא כתובה [שכתובה מ] בצדו ר' אלעזר  
המודעי אומר מתן תורה שמע ובא שבשעה שנתנה  
תורה לישראל מ ו ק [מה שנסמן בפזר האותיות חסר בא כ]

- (4F) Page 270, line 1

מה האבן שיהיה בו כדי להמית ואגרוף שיהיה בו [בה ר] כדי  
להמית א כ  
מה האבן שיש [שהיא ט] בו כדי להמית אף אגרוף שיש [שהיא ט] בו כדי  
להמית ט ו ק [ורמב"ן]

The Casanata Library in Rome has a Ms. containing excerpts for the Tannaitic Midrashim for those parts of the Pentateuch which occur in the prayer book. Among them is of course the *Mekilta* for the Song of Moses. I have fortunately been able to obtain a photograph of the Ms. and have collated its readings with those found in the variants of the Horovitz edition, and find that this Ms. belongs to the same group as those of the two complete *Mekilta* Mss. This is demonstrated by the following readings, most of them erroneous, occurring in all three texts, and in none other:

- (4G) Page 115, line 11 (Lauterbach I, p. 254, line 156)

שאיין הגליות עתידות מתכנסות א כ ס ר  
שאיין הגליות מתכנסות [מתאכסות ט] מ ט ו ק

- (4H) Page 130, line 6 (Lauterbach II, p. 32, line 31)

ואת אחרונים אני הוא [בכ ס ר] נוסף כאן סימן זה: <זי"ן בכ"ח קנא"ה  
בחצ"י סימן יוצ"א ועומד" > וחסר בכל שאר הנסחאות

- (4I) Page 131, line 17 (Lauterbach II, p. 35, line 84)

שני כתובים הללו כ ס ר  
שני כתובים א  
שני פסוקים הללו ט ו ק [במ חסר כל המשפט]



- (4J) Page 132, line 6 (Lauterbach II, p. 36, line 95)

הם מדרו חיינו בחומר ובלבנים מ  
 הן אמרו וימדרו את חייהם וגו' [בחומר וגו' ס] כ ס ר  
 הן מדרו את חייהם וגו' א  
 הן מדרו את חייהם בטיט ט  
 הן מדרו את חייהם בעבודה קשה ו ק

- (4K) Page 134, line 14 (Lauterbach II, p. 42, line 72)

תרעץ אויב מאט ו ק  
 ד"א תרעץ אויב כ ס

- (4L) Page 134, line 21 (Lauterbach II, p. 43, line 8)

וגו' הלא משנאיך מאט ו ק  
 וכת' הלא משנאיך כ ס

- (4M) Page 137, line 4 (Lauterbach II, p. 49, line 82)

שומע אני שהיה בהם ממש מאט ו ק  
 שומע אני שיש בהם ממש כ ס

- (4N) Page 138, line 17 (Lauterbach II, p. 53, line 140)

ועבדו את הקב"ה [את המקום מ את הק' כ] בכל לבבם מ כ ס  
 ועבדו את התורה בכל לבבם א  
 ועסקו בתורה בכל לבבם ט  
 וקבלו התורה ועבדו השם בכל לבבם ו ק

- (4O) Page 140, line 2 (Lauterbach II, p. 55, line 29)

נדרוף נשיג אינו אומר כאן אלא אחלק שלל מחולל הוא שללי וממוני להם מ  
 נדרוף נשיג נחלק אינו אומר [אין כתי' א ס] כן אלא ארדף אשיג  
 אחלק ארדף איסג מורדף אני [אין ס] להם מותפש [מותפס ס] אני להם  
 [בא' נ' כאן <נחלק אינו או כאן אלא אחלק שלל>] מחולק הוא  
 שללי וממוני להם א כ ס

נדרוף נשיג נחלק אין כתיב אלא ארדוף אשיג אחלק שלל מורדף אני להם  
 מותפס אני להם מחולק אני להם שללן ט

נדרוף נשיג נחלק אין כתיב אלא ארדוף אשיג אחלק ארדוף מושג [אשיג ק]  
 מורדף אני להם מותפש אני להם מחולק הוא שללו וממוני להם ו ק

- (4P) Page 147, line 4 (Lauterbach II, p. 72, line 67)

עכשיו הן באין לעורר עלינו מלחמת של בני אפרים מ  
 עכשיו הן באין לעורר עירותם [עירותם א] של בני אפרים א כ ס  
 עכשיו הן באין לעורר עברתם של בני אפרים ט  
 באו לעורר עידותן של בני אפרים ו ק

(4Q) Page 147, line 7 (Lauterbach II, p. 72, line 70)

על שעברו על הקץ ועל השבועה מ ו ק  
על אשר עברו על [אתם] הקץ ועל [על א] אם עברו על  
השבועה א כ ס  
על שעברו על הקץ על שעברו על השבועה ט

This fact is very important for our purpose. For I have already shown in the discussion of the texts of the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy, that the Casanata Ms. is representative of a group of Italian Mss.,<sup>33</sup> and it is thus clear that the two complete *Mekilta* Mss. are both of Italian lineage.

It is interesting to note that texts belonging to this family were used by the author of the *Pugio Fidei* in Spain (about 1260). This will become clear from the consideration of the following special readings found only in א or in כ :

(4R) Page 18, line 5 (Lauterbach I, p. 4, line 2)

שעוקה חוקק מ ט [ערוך ע' סף]  
שעוקף היה עושה [פ'ז]  
שהיה עושה עוקה [ש'ט]  
שעוקה חוצץ א כ [Pugio, p. 864]  
שעוקר וחוקק ו ק  
שעוקה וחוקק ל

ובברייחא המתאמת, ע' 37 שורה 5, הוצ' לוטערבאך, ח"א ע' 84  
שורה 35, נמצאת הגירסה חוצץ בא כ ט ו ק, ובמ גם שם הג'  
חוקק

(4S) Page 37, line 5, (Lauterbach I, p. 84, line 34)

שיהא בדם כרי טבילה מ א ט ו ק  
כ די שיהא בדם כרי טבילה כ [Pugio, p. 864]

(4T) Page 89, line 8 (Lauterbach I, p. 201, line 192)

אלא משל מי היו מ כ  
אלא של מי היו ו ק  
משל מי היו א ט [Pugio, p. 935] וכן נראה שהיתה גם גרסת רש"י.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* p. 12. It is to be noted now that Ms. ר, also, belongs to the same group, which can however be subdivided into two smaller families, the one consisting of כ ס ר, the other of א. This is evident from the following examples: 4H, 4I, 4J, 4K, 4L, 4M.

(4U) Page 127, line 3 (Lauterbach II, p. 25, line 38)

לא הוצרך אחד מהם לשאול מ ט  
 לא נצרך אחד מהם [ל' רשב"י] לשאול כ [רשב"י]  
 לא צרך אחד מהם לשאול א ר  
 לא צריך אחד מהם לשאול ס [Pugio, p. 732]  
 לא שאל אחד מהם לשאול ו ק

(4V) Page 191, line 9 (Lauterbach II, p. 168, line 97)

שבשעה שאמר משה ליתרו תן לי צפורה ואת צפורה ט] בתך לאשה  
 מטוק

שבשעה שאמר משה ליתרו תנה לי את צפורה בתך לאשה א כ [Pugio, p. 597]

(4W) Page 191, line 11 (Lauterbach II, p. 168, line 100)

מכאן [ומכאן כ] ואילך לשם שמים מ כ ו ק  
 [Pugio, ibid.] מכאן ולהלן לשם שמים א

In general it must be stated here that the text from which these Mss. were derived was superior to that which is the ancestor of the *Yalkut* and the Printed Editions which we have called F. It is for this reason that Lauterbach's text, which is based on the Mss., is so often better than that of Horovitz which follows the printed edition.

## V. The Common Ancestry of the Italian and the French Texts.

An examination of the texts of the Mss. and that of the *Yalkut* and the printed editions, shows that they all derive ultimately from a single parent text, and include a number of errors which they have inherited from that ancient prototype. This becomes evident when we compare the readings common to these texts with those of the *Midrash Hakamim*, which in the case of the *Mekilta*, as in that of the *Sifre*, represents a different scribal tradition from the other texts. The following citations will show how true this is:

(5A) Page 52, line 8 (Lauterbach I, p. 115, line 111)

אני ואת מלבנון גלינו אני ואת ללבנון עולים מ והמלים  
 המסומנים בפזור האותיות חסרים בא כ ט ו ק, ובודאי נהווה ט"ס  
 זו ע"י שיון המלים]

- (5B) Page 127, line 7 (Lauterbach II, p. 25, line 44)

ר' יוסי הגלילי אומר אגיד נאותיו ושבחו של הקב"ה מ  
 ר' יוסי אומר נוותו [נאותיו א] ושבחו של מי שאמר והיה העולם א כ ר  
 ר' יוסי אומר מגזר נאותיו ושבחו של מי שאמר והיה העולם ט  
 ר' יוסי הגלילי אומר גיזו ושבחו להקב"ה ו ק  
 וברור שהמלה אגיד נשתנית ע"י טעות סופר למגזר, בהתחלף  
 היר"ד בוי"ן בכ"י המקורי של א כ ט ו ק, והמעתיקים שלא הבינו  
 המלה הזרה מגזר השמיטו אותה בנוסחי א כ ו ק, רק בילקוט  
 נשמרה]

- (5C) Page 139, line 17 (Lauterbach II, p. 55, line 21)

אמר להם אפילו אם אינכם רודפים אחר ישראל אלא בשביל כסף וזהב  
 שאבדו ממנו כדאי הוא לנו [ורשב"]  
 אמר לא דינו לרדוף אחרי ישראל אלא בשביל שלקחו ממנו כסף וזהב מ  
 אמר לא דינו לרדוף [ל' כ] אחרי ישראל אלא בשביל כסף וזהב כדי  
 הוא א כ ט ו ק נשתי ברייתות נתאחדו בא כ ט ו ק, האחת  
 מקורה במ' והשנית ברשב"]

- (5D) Page 145, line 18 (Lauterbach II, p. 69, line 32)

וכה"א ששים המה מלכות ושמונים פלגשים ועלמות אין מספר אעפ"י כן  
 אחת היא יונתי מ. ל' א כ ס ט ו ק

- (5E) Page 191, line 20 (Lauterbach II, p. 170, line 115)

היה הולך להוציא את ישראל ממצרים ועל שנתר של במילה שעה  
 אחת בקש המלאך להרגו מ  
 הלך להוציא ישראל [את יש' א] ממצרים ועל שנת עצל במילה שעה  
 אחת בקש המלאך להרגו א כ  
 כשאמר לו המקום לך הוצא את עמי בני ישראל ממצרים ועל שנת עצל  
 במילה שעה אחת בקש המלאך להרגו ו ק  
 וברור שהמלה נתר של, שהיא פחות רגילה מנת עצל היא העיקרית]

- (5F) Page 195, line 1 (Lauterbach II, p. 176, line 209)

ונעמן הודה בדבר יותר ממנו מ [ורשב", ש"ט]  
 ונעמן נודע בדבר יותר ממנו א כ  
 ונעמן יודע בדבר יותר ממנו ו ק  
 וכן נעמן הודה בדבר פ

- (5G) Page 203, line 4 (Lauterbach II, p. 192, line 9)

כל אלו עד שלא נבנה [ל' מ] הבית [בית ט] משנבנה הבית מגין שמונין  
 לבניינו מ [והמלים שמונין לבניינו חסרים בא כ ט ו ק]

- (5H) Page 287, line 11

והשור יסקל למה נאמר היה בכלל מ  
 ד"א היה בכלל א כ ר ט ו ק



(5I) Page 291, line 16

לכלל כרת יצאו ולא יצאו לכלל תשלומין מ  
מכלל כרת יצאו ולא יצאו מכלל תשלומין א כ ר ט ו ק

(5J) Page 293, line 11

ומה להלן היו לה מושיעין הימנו חייבת מ  
ומה [מה ר] להלן היו לה מושיעין הימנו והרגתו חייבת א כ ר

ט ו ק  
[ועיין ספרי דברים פי' רמ"ג, ושם מוכח שהאנוסה פטורה רק אם לא  
היו לה מושיעים]

(5K) Page 303, line 4

זו מיתה מ  
שתהא מיתתו א כ ר ט ו ק

The fact that all the other sources contain these frequent errors, not found in the *Midrash Hakamim*, shows that they have a common paternity, and we may therefore postulate the existence of an original IF text, from which are derived both the ancestor of the Mss. א כ and of *Yalkut*-Ed. Pr. texts.

## VI. The Older Italian Texts.

Closely akin to IF (the source of א כ ט ו ק), yet in some respects superior to it, were the Italian texts of the *Mekilta* utilized by R. Hillel, the author of the famous commentary on the *Sifra* and the *Sifre*, who lived in Crete, and R. Menahem ben Solomon, the author of the *Sekel Tob*, who probably lived in Italy. Both of these writers flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, i. e., about 150 years before the writing of Ms. א. The texts they used were doubtless much older. This accounts for the definite superiority of their readings, in spite of the fact that the impress of the Italian type of Ms. is already evident in their citations. I will endeavor to make this clear in the following citations:

(6A) Page 78, line 9 (Lauterbach I, p. 176, line 91)

אמרו סרח בת אשר נשתיירה מאותו הדור מ פ  
אמרו סרח בת אשר נשתיירה מאותו הדור והיא כ] הראת [הראת  
אמרה א] למשה קברו של יוסף [קבר יוסף ט ו ק היכן יוסף קברו א  
קברו של יוסף, ש"ט] א כ ט ו ק ש"ט

(6B) Page 78, line 16 (Lauterbach I, p. 177, line 103)

ב ק ב ר נ י ט ן של מלכים היה קבור ורשב"י  
ב ק פ ר נ י ט ן של מצרים היה קבור יוסף מ  
ב ק פ י ט ו ל י ן [ב ק פ י ט ו ל י ן כ ב ק פ י ט ו ל י ן ו ב ק פ י ט ו ל י ן]  
של מצרים היה קבור יוסף כ ק ן [ש"ט]  
ב ק פ י ט ו ל י ן של מצרים קברוהו בין המלכים א

(6C) Page 126, line 5 (Lauterbach II, p. 23, line 7)

עזר וסומך אתה לכל באי העולם מ ו ק [מכירי, רשב"י] עזר  
[עוזר כ עז, ש"ט] ומסמך אתה לכל באי עולם [העולם א]  
א כ ר ס ט [ש"ט]

(6D) Page 150, line 15 (Lauterbach II, p. 80, line 51)

אלו אמרו ישראל ה' מלך לעולם ועד מ [רשב"י]  
אלו אמרו ישראל ע ל ה י ם ה' מלך לעולם ועד כ ס ט ו ק [ש"ט]

(6E) Page 151, line 14 (Lauterbach II, p. 82, line 75)

אלא לפי שנתן אהרן נפשו ע ל י ה נקראת על שמו מ [רשב"י]  
אלא לפי שנתן אהרן נפשו ע ל א ח ו ת ו נקראת א ח ו ת ו [ל' ו ק]  
על שמו כ ס ו ק [ש"ט]  
[באט חסר כל הענין, ונראה ברור שהמלה א ח ו ת ו נתוספה מגליון,  
והיא מכפלת את המלים על שמן]

(6F) Page 304, line 8

הואיל והשואל חייב והשומר חייב מה שואל שהוא נהנה מ  
הואיל והשכיר חייב והשומר חייב מה שכיר שכיר שהוא נהנה  
א כ ר ט נר' הלל בפירושו לי"ג מרות של ר' ישמעאל, נדפס בס'  
זכרון לפחננסקי, ע' 172

הואיל והשומר חייב והשוכר חייב מה שוכר שהוא נהנה ו ק

On the other hand, the following examples show that the text used by R. Hillel and the author of the *Sekel Tob* was definitely superior to IF:

(6G) Page 56, line 6 (Lauterbach I, p. 125, line 101)

יכול כשם שפסח מצרים למשפחה אף פסח דורות למשפחה מ  
יכול כשם שפסח מצרים אינו נאכל אלא למשפחה כך פסח דורות  
לא יהא נאכל אלא למשפחה [ש"ט]  
כשם שפסח מצרים אינו כשר אלא למשפחה כך פסח דורות לא  
יהא [אינו ו ק] כשר אלא למשפחה א כ ט ו ק

(6H) Page 78, line 12 (Lauterbach I, p. 176, line 95)

אם אתה מראה [מגלה, רשב"י] את עצמך [ארונך, ש"ט] מוטב [ודרי מוטב,  
רשב"י] ואם לאו נקיים אנחנו משבועתך [משבועתנו מ] מ [ש"ט, רשב"י]  
אם אתה עולה מוטב ואם לאו נקיים אנחנו משבועתך כ

תן כבוד לה' אלהי ישראל ואל תעקב את גאולתך כי בגללך אנו מעוכבים  
 ואם לאו נקיים אנחנו משבועתך **ו ק**  
 ואם לאו נקיים אנחנו משבועתך שהשבעתנו **א**  
 [הענין חסר **בט**; ונראה ברור שבמקור הקדמון של **ו ק** היה חסר  
 המשפט „אם . . . מוטב” כמו בכ”י **א** והמעתיקים מלאו החסרון מן  
 ההשערה.]

- (6I) Page 118, line 3 (Lauterbach II, p. 5, line 65)  
 מה נשתנה [נשתנית, ש”ט] הוריה זו [זאת **ט**] מכל הוריות שבתורה  
 [ההוריות ש”ט] שכולן [שבכולן, ש”ט] נאמר בהן [ל’ **ט**] כי טוב וכאן  
 לא נאמר כי טוב **מ ט** [ש”ט]  
 ומה [מה **א**] נשתנית הוריה זו [זאת **א**] מכל הוריות [ההוריות **ר**]  
 שבתורה שכל הוריות שבתורה [ל’ **ס**] נאמרו [נאמר **א**] הורו לה’ כי  
 טוב [בא’ נוסף <כי לעולם חסדו>] וכאן [וכן **א**] הוא אומר הורו  
 לה’ כי לעולם חסדו **א כ ס ר**  
 ומה נשתנית הוריה זו מכל הוריות שבתורה שבכל הוריות שבתורה נאמר  
 הורו לה’ כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו ובזו לא נאמר כי טוב **ו ק**

- (6J) Page 268, line 10  
 עונש שמענו אזהרה מנין **ו ק** [ר”ה בס’ זכרון לפוננסקי ע’ 178]  
 עונש שמענו אזהרה לא שמענו **א כ ר ט**  
 [השוה מכילתא ע’ 266, שורה 6, שהגרסה לא שמענו נמצאת  
 בז’ **א כ ט ד** והגרסה מנין רק **במ** ובחזקוני]

- (6K) Page 279, line 15  
 אין לי אלא שן ועין שאר איברים מנין הרי אתה דן בנין אב [ר”ה שם]  
 אין לי אלא השן והעין מיוחדות [מיוחדת **כ**] שאר [ושאר **ר**] כל  
 ראשי איברים [האיברים **ו ק**] מנין הרי אתה דן [אומר ודן **ו ק**]  
 בנין אב [בנין אב ל’ **ו ק**] מבין שניהם [שתיהן **א ר**] **א כ ר ו ק**  
 [באמת אין עבר יוצא על כל האיברים רק בכ”ד מהם]

## VII. The Spanish Texts.

In discussing the text of the *Sifre*, I indicated the grounds for my belief that the *Midrash Hakamim*, while written in Italy, utilized a Spanish text of that work.<sup>13a</sup> But I felt that the

<sup>13a</sup> The parent text (Ed.) of ed. Ven. and ed. Const., was apparently deeply influenced by the Spanish readings of the *Mekilta*. It would seem as though the Ms. which lay at the basis of these texts was “corrected” on the basis of a Spanish Ms., and that thus many typical Spanish readings found their way into **ו ק**. This is illustrated by examples 7Q; 12B; 6J. The agreement

evidence was insufficient to reach a definite conclusion on the subject. The examination of the following parallels between the readings of the *Midrash Hakamim* and the works of the Spanish authors, Nahmanides, R. Nissim, and Alnaqua, for the *Mekilta* now confirm the original conjecture. Further confirmation is offered by the equally convincing parallels between *Midrash Hakamim* and *Yalkut Ha-Makiri*, whose author is likewise known to have used Spanish texts.<sup>13b</sup>

of these texts with *Sefer Vehizhir* in 10G, probably indicates that the Spanish texts, which are not represented for that passage, had the same reading as *Vehizhir*, and that through them it came to Ed. The examples could be multiplied. Cf. e. g. ed. Horovitz, p. 33, line 3 (Lauterbach I, p. 88) where [אין] **א כ ט** read: **א** חמיצו את המצות [המצות כ:] while **מ ו ק** read: אין ויש שאין להם פדיון. On p. 286, line 10, the words **א כ ר ט** by homoioteleuton, but are found in **מ** and *Makiri*, and apparently have been added in Ed. from a kindred source. On p. 312, line 13, we have the following variants:

עד שהוא מגיעו **א כ**: עד שמגיעו **ט**  
עד שהגיע ומכירי) עד שהגיעו **מ ו ק**

again showing a close relation between **מ** and **ו ק**. On the other hand, Ed. sometimes shows kinship to *Makiri*, even against **מ**. Thus on p. 312, line 12, Ed. and *Makiri* read: **מ כ ט** בפחות מן שלשים while all the other texts (**מ א כ ט**) read: **מ כ ט** מן [עד בן מ] שלשים. More significantly on p. 25, line 7 (Lauterbach I, p. 57, line 89) the word בנינו found in **כ ט**, and changed into מבנינו in **א** is omitted in **מ**; and apparently following it was dropped in the parent text of Ed., since **ו ק** also omit it. Again on p. 26, line 6 (Lauterbach I, p. 59, line 117) the whole passage, שיטעון חגיגה . . . ד"א found in **א כ ט** is omitted in **מ** by homoioteleuton. But apparently the scribe of the parent text of Ed. did not realize this, and thought it was a parallel *baraita* to the preceding and so omitted it, on the basis of some Spanish text. In my work on the *Sife*, Deuteronomy, I noticed a similar kinship between readings of **מ** and ed. pr.

<sup>13b</sup> The text of the *Mekilta* cited by Alnaqua deserves closer consideration than I have been able to give it here. Its obvious relationship to that of **מ** is indicated by the examples given here. But there is also a closer relation between its readings of the *Mekilta* and that of the Oriental texts, and in some instances it shows definitely the influence of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai. Thus in his citation from the *Mekilta* (*Jethro*, *Bahodesh* chap. 7, ed. Lauterbach II, p. 252, line 63), Alnaqua (Vol. III, p. 573) cites the first phrase **מאחריו** ושמר מלפניו ושמר and then, as the editor points out, continues with a passage taken from *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai, *Ki Tisa*, 31.16 (p. 161) without at all indicating that this is an insertion from another work: **משל למה הדבר דומה** לאריה שהיה בשדה וכל בני אדם . . . ומה אם הארי שאינו ממית אל



- (7A) Page 2, line 10 (Lauterbach I, p. 4, line 42)  
 היו כל הארצות כשרות לדרבור מ [מכירי תהלים, סי' קלב]  
 היו כל הארצות כשרות לדברות א כ ט ו ק
- (7B) Page 2, line 16 (Lauterbach I, p. 5, line 51)  
 היו כל ישראל כשרים לעבודה מ [מכירי שם]  
 היו כל ישראל כשרים [ראוים א כ] לכהונה א כ ט ו ק
- (7C) Page 3, line 10 (Lauterbach I, p. 7, line 74)  
 וכי מלפני ה' יכול לברוח מ [מכירי יונה]  
 וכי מלפני ה' הוא בורח א כ ט ו ק
- (7D) Page 3, line 16 (Lauterbach I, p. 7, line 82)  
 והלך לו לבית הקברות מקום שאין רבו יכל לבא אחריו מ [מכירי יונה]  
 אמר [ואמר כ] אלך [אברח א] לי לבית [לבין א] הקברות מקום שאין  
 רבי יכול לבא אחריו א כ ו ק [ובט ח' המשפט]
- (7E) Page 30, line 20 (Lauterbach I, p. 70, line 36)  
 או אינו אלא לא יעשה גוי מ לא כ ת ו מ  
 או לא תעשה אתה לא יעשה חברך ולא יעשה גוי מ לא כ ת ו [רמבן]  
 בפירושו]  
 או לא יעשה הגוי מ לא כ ת ו [רן בשטה מקובצת ב"מ, צ' ע"ב]  
 או אינו אלא [אינו אלא ל' ו ק] לא תעשה אתה ולא יעשה חברך ולא  
 [אבל, ס' יראים] יעשה [ייעשה ו ק] גוי מ לא כ ת ו א ו ק [ס'  
 יראים סי' ק"ג, והשוה הוצ' שי"ף סי' ש"ד]

בעולם הזה בני אדם נזהרין מלפניו ומאחריו שבת שהיא הורגת כל מחלליה בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא על אחת כמה וכמה.

In Vol. IV, p. 304, we find a citation in the name of the *Mekilta*, which occurs only in *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai 23.4 (p. 155). In the same volume, p. 152–3, we find a long citation from the *Mekilta* (ed. Horovitz, p. 114, line 13, Lauterbach I, p. 252) of a passage which occurs also in *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai 14.31 (p. 55). While the first part of the citation faithfully follows the readings of the *Mekilta*, the last lines referring to a text which became confused in our *Mekilta*, follow the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai. These citations seem to me to indicate definitely that the text of the *Mekilta* used by Alnaqua, had in some manner been changed under the influence of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai. Since we know that the Spanish Jews had copies of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai, for it is cited by Nachmanides, this need not surprise us.

It is perhaps necessary further to remark, in discussing Alnaqua's citations from the *Mekilta* that the passage on p. 20 of Vol. III, line 16, which the editor ascribes to the *Sifre* going so far, as to insert the words בספרי נורסי in the text, are taken not from the *Sifre*, but from the parallel passage in the *Mekilta*, like the citation on line 5 of the same page. A careful examination of the readings will show this.

או אינו אלא לא יעשה גוי מלאכת ט  
[המשפט חסר בכ"י כ]

(7F) Page 33, line 2 (Lauterbach I, p. 74, line 87)

אל תקרא המצות אלא המצוות מ  
אל תקרי את המצות אלא את המצוות [אלנקוה, מנורת המאור, הוצ'  
ענעלו, ח"ג, ע' 411]

אל תקרא כן [באו"ז: כאן] אלא ושמרתם את המצוות א כ ט ו ק  
[או"ז ה' פסחים, סי' רמ"ט]

(7G) Page 126, line 11 (Lauterbach II, p. 23, line 14)

ורוח הקדש צווחת מ

ורוח הקדש צווחת ואומרת [מכירי ישעיה מ"ט ג']

ורוח הקדש צווחת מן השמים ואומר [ואומ' א] א ט

ורוח הקדש צווחת ואומר [ואומרת ר] מן השמים כ ר ו ק

(7H) Page 128, line 7 (Lauterbach II, p. 28, line 74)

ועם אבותי במדת הדין מ [רמב"ן]

ועם אבותי נהג [נהג, רשב"ן] במדת הדין א כ ר ט ו ק [רשב"ן]

(7I) Page 159, line 3 (Lauterbach II, p. 98, line 8)

מיום שברא הקב"ה את עולמו מ [רמב"ן, רשב"ן]

כיון שברא הקב"ה את עולמו כ ט ו ק [ובכ"י א חסר המשפט]

(7J) Page 162, line 13

נתן להם השלום מ [רמב"ן]

נתן השלום לישראל א כ ט ו ק

(7K) Page 257, line 9

שלא ימכרנה [ימכר ק, 'ימכרנה האב פ] לגוי פ ז א כ ר ט ו ק

שלא ימכרנה [ימכרנה זאת מ] לנכרי מ [רמב"ן]

(7L) Page 286, line 3

ואומר איש כסף נפשות ערכו מ [מכירי ישעיה מ"ג ג']

ואומר כפר נפש איש עשרו [ל' א] ואומר איש כסף נפשות ערכו א כ ר ט

ואומר איש כסף נפשות ערכו ואומר כפר נפש איש עשרו ו ק

(7M) Page 312, line 13

ולא עוד אלא ליתן שכר ימים ושנים מ [מכירי ישעיה מ"ד

ה' (ע' 146)]

ליתן [וליתן ד] שכר ימים ושנים א כ ר ט ו ק

(7N) Page 92, line 12 (Lauterbach I, p. 207, line 42)

וכי בחרבו ובקשתו לקחה אלא בתפלתו [בתפלות; אלנקוה] וכה"א

וזאת ליהודה [באלנקוה ח', וזאת ליהודה] שמע ה' קול יהודה מ

[אלנקוה, מנורת המאור, ח"ב ע' 21]

וכי בחרבו ובקשתו לקחה והלא כבר [באברהם ט] נאמר כי  
לא בקשתי אבטח הא מה ת"ל בחרבו ובקשתו  
זו תפלה וכה"א גור אריה יהודה וגו' ואמר ואת  
ליהודה אט

וכי בחרבו ובקשתו לקחה וכן הוא אומר גור אריה יהודה  
וגו' ואמר ואת ליהודה כך

וכי בחרבו ובקשתו לקחה אלא לומר לך חרבי זו תפלה  
בקשתי זו בקשה וכה"א גור אריה יהודה וא' ואת  
ליהודה וק

וכי בחרבו ובקשתו לקח והלא כבר נאמר כי לא בקשתי  
אבטח וחרבי לא תושיעני הא מה ת"ל בחרבי  
ובקשתי זו תפלה וכה"א ברוך הגבר אשר יבטח [רשב"]

(70) Page 115, line 7 (Lauterbach I, p. 254, line 150)

אמנה שהאמינו בה' שנאמר ואמונתך בלילות העולם הזה שכולו  
לילות מ

אמנה שהאמינו ישראל בהב"ה בעולם הזה שכולו לילות [אלנקוה,  
מנורת המאור, ח"ד, ע' 153 רשב"]

אלא בשכר אמנה שהאמינו אבותינו בעולם הזה שכולו לילות לפיכך  
זכינו לעולם הבא שכולו בקר שכך [לכך ר]  
נאמר להגיד בבקר חסדך ואמונתך בלילות כרס  
[בכ"י ח' שכר בבקר]

אלא בשכר [שכר וק] אמנה שהאמינו אבותינו [אבותיהם ט] בעולם  
הזה שכולו לילה [לילות א] לכך [שכר וק] נאמר להגיד  
בבקר חסדך ואמונתך בלילות אט וק

(7P) Page 158, line 2 (Lauterbach II, p. 96, line 163)

והישר בעיניו תעשה זה משא ומתן מלמד שכל הנושא ונותן [והנותן,  
רשב"] באמונה ורוח הבריות נוחה הימנו מעלין [מעלה, רשב"]  
עליו כאלו קיים את [ל', רשב"] את [את כל, אלנקוה] התורה כולה מ  
[אלנקוה, ח"ד ע' 151, רשב"]

והישר בעיניו תעשה מלמד שכל שהוא נושא ונותן באמונה [באמתה כ]  
ורוח הבריות נוחה הימנו מעלין [מעלה ט] עליו כאילו קיים  
כל התורה כולה אכט

והישר בעיניו תעשה מלמד שכל מי שנושא ונותן באמונה רוח הבריות  
נוחה הימנו ומעלין עליו כאילו קיים כל התורה כולה וק

(7Q) Page 227, line 7 (Lauterbach II, p. 247, line 137)

שמוסרין נפשם על המצות [מ"ת ע' 21]

ונותנים [ומוסרים, אלנקוה] נפשם על המצות מ ו ק [רמב"ן, אלנקוה  
ח"ג, ע' 397]  
ונותנים נפשם על כל המצות א ט  
ונותנים נפשם בכל המצות כ

# VIII. The Kinship of the Spanish and Italian Texts.

While the *Midrash Hakamim* text, with its Spanish antecedents, belongs to a different group from the Italian texts which we have discussed, it is easy to show that both lines derive from a common source. We have seen that this is true with regard to the extant texts of the *Sifre*<sup>14</sup> and it is significant that it is also true of the *Mekilta*. The following examples of variant readings will demonstrate this fact:

(8A) Page 19, line 13 (Lauterbach I, p. 47, line 52)

שמצות הפסח צלי מצה ומרור [רמב"ם עשין נ"ן]  
שמצות הפסח מצה צלי ומרור מ כ ט ו ק  
[נדאי שהחלוף בא לרגלי שנוי התנאים אחר ימי הבית שאז היתה המצה  
עקרית והפסח טפל לה]

(8B) Page 84, line 16 (Lauterbach I, p. 191, line 48)

ד"א ואמר פרעה ולא [לא כ ו ק] ידע מה אמר אמר [ל' א מ  
ט ו ק] משה הטען ולא היה יודע להיכן מוליכן שנאמר נבוכים הם  
בדרך מ א כ ט ו ק  
[המלים, לא ידע מה אמר, יש למחוק כאשר העיר הורבין,  
ואינו רק הכפלת לשון מן המובא למטה, ואמר פרעה ולא ידע מה  
אמר [אמר] עתידין ישראל לבכות במדבר, וכן במכילתא דרשב"י  
הן חסרות]

(8C) Page 118, line 14 (Lauterbach II, p. 7, line 82)

לא כענין [מכילתא דרשב"י, וכן הוגה במכילתא ע"י הורבין]  
אבל מ  
כמה א כ ר ט [ש"ט]  
כמו ו  
כשם ק

(8D) Page 125, line 16 (Lauterbach II, p. 22, line 139)

בחמש מכות [מכילתא דרשב"י]  
בחמישים מכות [מכה ר] מ א כ ר ו ק [וברור מן הכתוב המובא שם  
שהגרסה הנכונה היא ח מ ש וכן הגידו המפרשים]

<sup>14</sup> Proceedings, cited above, p. 18ff.



- (8E) Page 145, line 19 (Lauterbach II, p. 69, line 30)  
 ששים המה מלכות אלו ששים רבוא ושמונים פלגשים אלו מכן עשרים  
 ומעלה ועלמות אין מספר אלו הקטנים שאין להם מגין **מ א כ ד**  
 [במקום עשרים צריך לומר ששים, וה"ס" נשתבש ב"כ"]
- (8F) Page 150, line 1 (Lauterbach II, p. 78, line 24)  
 זה אחד מן המקראות: רשב"י [אות אמת]  
 זה אחד מן הדברים: **מ כ ס ט ו ק**
- (8G) Page 201, line 1  
 שלשה דברים נתנו על תנאי [בכ"נ] >אלו הן<] ארץ ישראל ובית המקדש  
 ומלכות בית דוד חוץ מספר תורה ובריתו של אהרן שלא נתנו תנאי  
 [כן הגרסה **ב מ א כ ו ק**, וכבר הגיה באיפת צדק אבל תורה—  
 לא נתנה במקום חוץ מספר תורה—שלא נתנו]
- (8H) Page 202, line 6  
 הא אם אין אתה עושה לי כן הריני יורד כבן סיסי [כן הגרסה **ב א כ ו**  
 בר סיסי מ] לשאול **מ א כ ו**  
 [והגרסה הנכונה היא בנסיסי, המובאה בדפוס ק, וכעין זה ברשב"י  
 בנסיסות, ופירושו בעצב וצער]
- (8I) Page 248, line 9  
**תל מאכר ט ו ק** [ויש להגיה שנאמר]

#### IX. The *Mekilta* Text in the *Pesiqta Zutreta*.

The *Pesiqta Zutreta* is generally supposed to have been composed in the Balkan peninsula toward the end of the eleventh century. This is about half a century before the writing of the *Sekel Tob*, and the text of the *Pesiqta Zutreta* gives corresponding evidence of superiority. In several instances, it alone has preserved a reading of the *Mekilta* superior to that found in any of the Mss.

- (9A) Thus in ed. Horovitz, p. 209, line 4 (corresponding to ed. Lauterbach II, p. 205, line 64) we read in the Mss. and editions of the *Mekilta*: שנאמר **מ א כ ר ט ו ק** ובני דוד כהנים היו.

There are a number of unimportant differences between the various texts, but substantially this is the reading of **מ א כ ר ט ו ק** for the passage.

It is clear that the reply to the hypothetical question has accidentally been dropped by the copyists, but it is

supplied by comparison with the text of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai, *Vehizhir*, *Pesiqta Zutreta*, and *Sekel Tob*, all of which end the passage with the phrase

ת"ל וגוי קדוש

This reading is accepted by both Horovitz and Lauterbach.

- (9B) On p. 254, line 2, the extant texts read: רבי אומר בוא וראה: שאין העולם אלא חמשים שנה שנאמר ועבדו לעולם אכר טוקן. But the verse cited proves nothing about the matter, and is clearly an erroneous substitute for וישב שם עד עולם (I Samuel 1,22) which does prove the point. *Pesiqta Zutreta*, alone, of all the texts has preserved this correct reading.

But there can be no doubt that the text of *Pesiqta Zutreta* is derived from the parent source. This is shown by the following erroneous readings which it shares with the other members of this family.

- (9C) On page 189, line 10 (Lauterbach II, p. 164, line 36) we find the following explanation of the name קיני:

קיני שקנא לשמים [למקום ט] וקנה לו תורה אכ טוק [פ"ז]  
קיני שקנה את התורה מ

It is clear that this text of אכ טוק [פ"ז] is a combination of two separate variants, one שקנה את התורה preserved in מ, the other שקנא לשמים not found by itself. The fact that *Pesiqta Zutreta* has this reading shows that it was already found in the parent text of these various sources, and was retained by them. We may perhaps assume that the variant had not yet become an integral part of the text Eu, but was written between the lines or on the margin, so that the parent text of מ did not retain it.

- (9D) On page 192, line 9 (Lauterbach II, p. 171, line 129) we read the following *baraita*:

בשעה [באותה שעה ו] קן שאמר לו דתן מי שמך לאיש שר ושופט עלינו וגו' וישמע פרעה את הדבר [הדבר הזה אכ ו] קן אמרו [אמ' קן אמר ו] מן תפשו את משה והעלוהו לבימה [ל' מ] וכפתוהו [וכתפתו מ] והניחו [והכהו מ] הסיף על צוארו מאכ וקן

The word אמר like its variant אמרו of the texts אכ is undoubtedly awkward, but a comparison with the parallel text of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai shows that it

is a remnant of ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר and that the correct reading of the *baraita* is this: ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר תפשו את משה והעלוהו לבימה כפתוהו והניחו לו סיף על צוארו. Yet *Pesiqta Zutreta* has the following: א מ ר תפשוהו למשה ובקש להרגו showing that its text of the *Mekilta* was related to Eu.

- (9E) On page 192, line 19 (Lauterbach II, p. 172, line 146) we have the following expression of Jethro: ובקש לצאת למדבר ציה ותוהו ואין בו כלום. This is a satisfactory reading, except that it occurs in no other text. The most common variant is: אל המדבר תוהו שאין בו כלום א כ ט [רמב"ן]. But this is grammatically impossible. The following text is found in *Pesiqta Zutreta* and *Sekel Tob*: אל המדבר תוהו מקום שאין בו כלום. It is clear from a comparison of these readings that *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai has preserved the original reading למדבר תוהו (הוה) שאין בו כלום. In Eu or in some early text descendant from it, the word אל המדבר was accidentally corrupted into למדבר. This made the phrase אל המדבר תוהו grammatically difficult, and an early scribe endeavored to correct it, by inserting the word מקום before תוהו. But apparently he wrote the word מקום above the line or on the margin, so that while it was retained in some texts, (מ, שכל טוב, פסיקתא זוטרתא) it dropped out of the parent text of א כ ט ו ק. The copyist who wrote the archetype of ו ק, tried to ease the difficulty before him by emending למדבר ציה ותוהו into אל המדבר תוהו.

- (9F) On page 199, line 16 (Lauterbach II, p. 185, line 99) we read of Moses's farewell to his father-in-law: שילחו בכבודו של עולם. This text is found in the Venice Edition, and also in מ and the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai. But it is not found in the other texts, the variants for בכבודו being מכבודו א ט כיבודו כ all of which are impossible. It is clear that some error crept into Eu or a descendant text, and that בכבודו was changed to לכבודו, and thence the other changes were made. But since לכבודו is found also in *Pesiqta Zutreta*, it is clear that that text is derived from Eu.

As I remarked in the discussion of the *Sifre* texts, the text of פ"ו shows a remarkable kinship to that of מ. At the time I thought that incompatible with the even more pronounced kinship מ showed for the Spanish texts. But it seems to me likely at the present writing that text used by the author of the *Pesiqta Zutreta* was akin to that which went to Spain, and which thus became ancestor not only to the citations in Nahmanides, R. Nissim, and Alnaqua, but also to מ. The following variant readings will show the close relation between מ and פ"ו for the *Mekilta*:

(9G) Page 191, line 5 (Lauterbach II, p. 168, line 90)

נטלה שני בניה וחזרה לבית אביה [רשב"י]

נטלה שני בניה והלכה לה מ פ

הלכה לבית אביה ונטלה שני בניה א כ ו ק

(9H) Page 193, line 2 (Lauterbach II, p. 172, line 151)

עשה בגיני ואם אי אתה עושה בגיני עשה בגין אשתך [בניך ט]

ואם אי אתה עושה בגין אשתך [בניך ט] עשה בגין שני

בניך [אשתך ט] א כ ט [רשב"י]

עשה בגיני ואם לאו עשה בגין אשתך ואם לאו עשה בגין בניך מ

אם תעשה בגיני עשה וצא לקראתי וקבלני ואם לא עשה בשביל אשתך

ואם לא עשה בשביל שני בניה פ

(9I) Page 266, line 5

זה מושך אצלו וזה מושך אצלו מ פ

זה מושך לה לן וזה מושך לה לן א כ ר ט ו ק

(9J) On page 257, line 9, we read in the *Mekilta*: לעם נכרי.

But מ inserts זאח after ימכרנה, reading: שלא ימכרנה זאח לנכרי. Similarly, פ"ו inserts האב after ימכרנה. The significance of these additions is not clear. Apparently, they represent nothing more than a copyist's error. But it seems to me obvious that the word זאח in מ and האב in פ"ו are based on the same original gloss, whatever it was, and are merely attempts to decipher it.

(9K) On page 253, line 8, the *Mekilta* reads: במרצע בכל

דבר, התורה אמרה ורצע אדוניו את אונן במרצע והלכה אמרה בכל דבר. Now this rule happens to be one of three in which, according to R. Ishmael, tradition supplants the Written Word of Scripture. This is definitely stated in *Midrash Tanna'im*



to Deut. 24.1 (p. 154). Apparently, however, the writer of מ had it also in his text of the *Mekilta*, for he adds before the word התורה, the following: וזו אחת משלשה דברים : שההלכה עוקצת [עוקפת] את המקרא. These words are in fact necessary in the context, for without them the phrase 'התורה, becomes a mere repetition of דבר. As Horovitz noticed, they were apparently also found in the *Mekilta* text used by the author of *Pesiqta Zutreta*, which reads as follows: קובעת [עוקבת] המקרא התורה אמרה : במרצע והלכה בכל דבר.

#### X. The Text of the *Sefer Vehizhir*.

The *Sefer Vehizhir* is an anonymous work composed about the tenth century and wrongly ascribed to Hefez ben Yazliah. Only the part relating to Exodus, Leviticus, and the beginning of Numbers has been preserved. In this part the work contains numerous citations from the tannaitic commentaries on these books.

The text of the *Mekilta* cited by the *Sefer Vehizhir* is different from that of any of the sources we have thus far discussed. In a number of instances the reading which it has preserved is definitely superior and more authentic than that recorded in any other text.

- (10A) A good example is offered by the passage in ed. Horovitz, page 226 (corresponding to ed. Lauterbach II, p. 246, line 125) which reads in our texts: פוקד עון אבות על בנים : בומן שאינן מסורגין או בומן שהן מסורגין הא כיצד רשע בן רשע בן רשע. This text is inexplicable, and is obviously an abbreviation of the fuller statement preserved in the *Sefer Vehizhir*: נרתע משה ונבהל אמר לו בומן שאינן מסורגין ולא בומן שהן מסורגין. הא כיצד רשע בן רשע בן רשע. A passage in the *Midrash Tannaim* (Deut. 5.9, p. 21) which is clearly based on the baraita of the *Mekilta* reads: כששמע משה כך נרתע לאחוריו : ונבהל עד שאמר לו בומן שאינן מסורגין או אפילו בומן שהן מסורגין ת"ל ל ש ו נ א י הא כיצד רשע בן רשע בן רשע.

- (10B) Again<sup>15</sup> in the *baraita* page 241, line 18, corresponding to Lauterbach II, p. 283, line 96, we read according to ed. pr. and Venice: **אם אינו נותן של זהב הרי הן כאלהי כסף**. The other texts read as follows:

שאם שניתם לעשותם של כסף הרי הן כאלהי כסף **א כ** [וכעין זה היה גרסת רש"ן]

הא שנה ועשאו של כסף הרי הן כאלהי כסף **פ**

הא אם שניתם משל זהב הרי הן כאלהי כסף **ך ט**

*Midrash Hakamim* alone has the simple reading:

הא אם עשיתם משל כסף הרי הן כאלהי כסף

And similarly, *Vehizhir* reads:

הא אם עשאו של כסף הרי הן כאלהי כסף

The history of this corruption of the text thus becomes obvious. The original form **הא אם עשיתם של כסף הרי הן כאלהי כסף** was changed by a writer who wished to make it clearer, and substituted **עשיתם** for **שניתם**. *Pesiqta Zutreta* still has both readings, but the parent text of **א כ ר ט ו ק** had only **שניתם**. This worried the later copyists because the phrase **הא אם שניתם של כסף** made no sense. Hence the parent text of **א כ** changed the reading by adding the word **לעשותם** making the phrase **הא אם שניתם לעשותם של כסף**. The parent text of **ט ו ק** changed **של זהב** to **של כסף**, which appears for the first time in the readings of **ט** and **ו ק**. The expression **של זהב** was still awkward however, and **ט** consequently substitutes **משל זהב** while the source of **ו ק** emends to **אם אינו נותן של זהב**.

- (10C) On page 261, line 7 *Vehizhir* alone supplies the verse **שומע אני אף בן baraita** to which the *baraita* **וואיש כי יכה כל נפש אדם שמונה במשמע** is appended. Horovitz, in this instance, accepts the superior reading of *Vehizhir*.

Yet there can be no doubt that the Mekilta text of *Vehizhir* was derived from the same parent text as the other witnesses which we have been considering. This will become obvious from a consideration of the following sets of variants, in which errors common to *Vehizhir* and all the other sources will be presented.

<sup>15</sup> Note that in this *baraita*, the reading of Ms. **ך** agrees with that of the *Yalkut*, as against **א כ**.

- (10D) On page 229, line 7 (Lauterbach II, p. 251, line 50) the *Mekilta* divides the various sins in the Torah into two classes, those severer than **לֹא תִשָּׂא** the third of the Ten Commandments, and those less severe. The passage reads:

ואי זה מלא תשא ולמעלה [צ"ל ולמטה] עשה ולא תעשה חוץ מלא תשא, מלא תשא ולמטה [צ"ל ולמעלה] דברים שחייבים עליהם מיתת בית דין מיתה בידי שמים כרת ומלקות ארבעים חטאות ואשמות ולא תשא עמהן.

Now as it stands, the *baraita* is self-contradictory, for **מלקות ארבעים** is the usual punishment for the transgression of **לֹא תִעֲשֶׂה**, and therefore the ordinary **לֹא תִשָּׂא** is described as both less severe and more severe than **לֹא תִשָּׂא**. The parallel passage in *Tosefta Yoma* 5.6, does not contain the words spaced, and that doubtless is correct. But the words **מלקות ארבעים חטאות ואשמות**, added by a careless scribe, are found in all the extant texts of the *Mekilta* including *Vehizhir*.

- (10E) Page 232, line 11 (Lauterbach II, p. 259, line 38)  
 שדברי תורה נוטריקון [כר נ' הן] שכן דברי תורה נדרשים  
 מכלל הן לאו ומכלל [מכלל כוק] לאו הן **א כ ר ט ו ק**  
 שדברי תורה נוטריקון שדברי תורה נדרשים מכלל הן לאו ומכלל  
 לאו הן

שדברי תורה מכלל הן לאו ומכלל לאו הן מ

[Pugio, p. 286] שדברי תורה נדרשים מכלל הן לאו ומכלל לאו הן

The same passage is cited in *Midrash Tannaim* to Deuteronomy 5.16 (p. 23) as follows: שדברי תורה נדרשין מכלל הין לאו ומכלל לאו הין.

It is clear from a comparison of the parallels that this is the correct text, and that the phrase שדברי תורה נוטריקון is simply a variant for שדברי תורה נדרשים which was added to the ancient text, and thus found its way into **א כ ט ו ק**. The word שכן was added in the parent text of **א כ ט ו ק** in an attempt to simplify the difficulty.

- (10F) Page 227, line 18 (Lauterbach II, p. 249, line 13)

שנאמר כי לא ינקה ה' את אשר ישא את שמו לשוא וק  
 וכן הוא אומר כי לא ינקה ז מ א כ ר

(10G) Page 257, line 6

אשר לא יעדה, אם [אשר ז] לא יעדה אדון זה יפרה אב [אבל ז]  
 זוק  
 אשר לא יעדה, אם לא יעדה אדון יפרה [יפרה א ר] אב [יוכל ט]  
 אכר ט  
 אשר לא יעדה האדון והפרה יפרנה האב [פז]

The passage is, as Horovitz has noted, corrupt, but it can easily be reconstructed. It is clear that the reading of **זוק** is the older, and that the word **זה** has been omitted in the parent text of **אכר ט** only because it gave difficulty to the scribe. But actually the word **זה** was merely a corruption of **וה** and was originally joined to the following **יפרה**. The corruption arose from the fact that **והפרה** was spelt with a *Yod* after the *Hek* to indicate the preceding *segol*, as was common in Palestinian Mss.<sup>16</sup> The word was therefore written **והיפרה**. This misled the later copyists, because it is unusual to insert such vowel indicators in biblical citations. He therefore read **אדון זה יפרה** as **אדון והיפרה**. The original form of the *baraita* was thus simply: **אשר לא יעדה, האדון; והפרה, האב**. The point of the statement is that the subjects of the two verbs are not the same, the duty of **יעוד** rests on the master, that of redemption on the father. The fact that the corruption is found in **ז** as well as in the other *Mekilta* texts shows that all of them have a common lineage.

(10H) Page 240, line 2 (Lauterbach II, p. 278, line 28)

**ומי מוחל [מהול א] לו הוי אומר הייסורין זמאכר טוק**  
 The *baraita* is clearly corrupt, for **ייסורים** may be the reason for the atonement, they cannot be the agents. The correct text is fortunately found in the parallel passage in the *Sifre*, Deuteronomy 32 (ed. Friedmann 73b), where we read: **ובמה נמחל לו ביסורים נמחל לו**.

(10I) Page 240, line 7 (Lauterbach II, p. 279, line 37) we have the following *baraita*:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> This is illustrated by the reading **יפרה** found in **א ר** for **יפרה** in this very passage. The unnecessary *yod* is simply indicative of a preceding *segol*.

<sup>17</sup> In Ms. **ך** we have the correct text **על מי**; but the word **על** is inserted above the line, showing, I believe, that in the parent text it was omitted.

חביבין יסורין ששמו של הקב"ה חל בו [במי ז שלמי א  
מי ר עליהם שמי מ] שיסורין באין עליו זמאכטרוק  
It is obvious that none of the variants of the spaced  
words are satisfactory, but the *baraita* again is easily  
emended by comparison with the parallel text of the  
*Sifre* (loc. cit.) and that instead of חל בו we should read:  
חל על מי שיסורין באין עליו.

- (10J) Page 224, line 4 (Lauterbach II, p. 240, line 44)

ר' יצחק אומר אלו נפרט [נפרשו ז נפרש מ ו ק בפרט כ] להם כל  
[וכל ט] שם [של כ] עבודה זרה לא היה מספיק [ספק ז מ כ ק] להם  
[לו מ ל' ו ק] כל עורות שבעולם זמאכטרוק

But as I have already indicated elsewhere,<sup>18</sup> on the basis  
of the parallel readings in *Sifre*, Deuteronomy 43 (81b)  
the correct text of this *baraita* is as follows: ר' יצחק אומר אלו  
נפרט שם עבודה זרה לא ספקו להם כל עירות שבעולם.

- (10K) On page 261, line 6, the *Mekilta* reads:

אין לי אלא איש ואשה שהרגו את האיש והאיש שהרג את האשה ואת הקטן,  
האשה שהרגה את חברתה ואת הקטן [ו את הקטן ל' ר כ] מנין ת"ל  
רוצח הוא לתלמודו בא [הוא בא ז א] זאכטרוק

It is obvious that some words have disappeared before  
אין. Horovitz following אית צדק suggests that  
the words missing are אש כן למה נאמר איש. But whether  
this suggestion is correct or not, it is obvious that ז like  
the other texts of the *Mekilta* must have inherited the  
corrupt reading from a common source.

- (10L) On page 252, line 2 we read:

אהבתי את אדוני אין לי אלא בזמן שיש לו אשה ובנים ולרבו אשה ובנים.  
אין [בזמן שאין ז כ ר ט, ל' א] לרבו [ולרבו א] אשה ובנים מנין  
ת"ל והיה כי יאמר אליך (דברים ט"ו, ט"ז) מכאן אמרו לעולם אינו  
[ל' א] נרצע אלא אם כן [עד א ז] יש [שיש א] שיהא ז] לו אשה  
ובנים ולרבו אשה ובנים זאכטרוק

אהבתי את אדוני, בזמן שיש לו אשה ובנים וגם לרבו אשה ובנים ש' כי  
אהבך ואת ביתך. אין לרבו אשה ובנים מנין ת"ל והיה כי יאמר אליך  
וגו'. מכאן אמרו לעולם אינו נרצע אלא אם כן יש לו אשה ובנים  
ולרבו אשה ובנים מ

<sup>18</sup> *Tarbiz* III, 2, p. 203.



The text is obviously in disorder, for the last part contradicts the first, and clearly all the extant readings must derive from the same erroneous original. It seems to me that what happened is that two contradictory *baraitot* have been combined into one. According to the first *baraita* a slave's ear is bored, whether the master have a family or not. According to the second *baraita*, which corresponds to *Sifre*, Deuteronomy 121 (Friedmann 99a), the slave's ear is not bored if the master have no family. The corrupt text arose out of an attempt to combine the two *baraitot*, one of which had doubtless been added on the margin and added later to the text.

- (10M) On page 265, line 7, we find the following reading common to שאין ת"ל ומכה אביו ואמו אלא: זאכטוק which Horovitz properly emends to יומת אפילו אחד מהן דברי ר' יאשיה ת"ל ומכה אדם יומת אפילו אחד מהן דברי ר' יאשיה in accordance with the suggestion found in the commentary in R. Samson of Sens to *Sifra*, *Emor*, *perek* 20, 8, and adopted by many later writers.

- (10N) On page 265, line 9, we find the following:  
 ר' יצחק אומר וכי לא באת אמו <אלא> אכר טוק להחמיר עליו [ל' נק] או להקל עליו לא מפני שהחמיר [שהחמיר ז] בו הוקל [הקיל ז] בו ת"ל מכה אביו ואמו.

This reading is attested to by זאכטוק. Yet it is obviously corrupt for the words ת"ל מכה אביו ואמו must be omitted, as Horovitz indicates.

- (10O) On page 230, line 9 (Lauterbach II, p. 254, line 18) the texts ר' אחי [אחאי נק] בר יאשיה [יאשה ל] read זמכטוק. But as can be seen from the parallel passage page 342, line 3, the correct reading is: דברי ר' אחי בר' יאשיה which is found here only in אר.

- (10P) On page 230, line 15 (Lauterbach II, p. 255, line 102), we read: מגיד שהים שקול כנגד כל מעשה בראשית. This text is found in קכר וק and also in *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai, p. 109. But the word שהים has the following variants in other texts: שהים מ שהיה ט. These variants can only be explained on the hypothesis that the original Palestinian text read שהים, marking the

preceding *gamez* as usual with a Vav. This text was preserved in א ז and emended in מ to שהוא and by the author of the *Yalkut* to שהיה.

- (10Q) On page 254, line 4, we have the following *baraita*:

מה אם העובד [עובד ז] ש מ י ע ט הכתוב יציאתו הרי הוא עובדו ועובד  
את [ל' ו ק] הבן נרצע ש ר י ב ה הכתוב יציאתו ז א כ ר ט ו ק  
As Horovitz suggests, the correct text should obviously  
have had שריבה in the place of שמיעט and שמיעט in the  
place of שריבה.

- (10R) On page 248, line 11, we read:

שש שנים יעבוד, שומע אני בין עבודה שיש בה בזיון בין עבודה שאין בה  
בזיון ת"ל כשכיר כחושב, מה שכיר אי אתה רשאי לשנותו מאומנתו אף  
עבד עברי אי אתה רשאי לשנותו מאומנתו.

As the commentators to the passage have noted, the text is in grave disorder in spite of that fact that it has the support of א. כ. ר. ט. ו. ק. *Vehizhir*, also, has substantially the same reading, but it changes the first clause שומעני אפי' עבודה שיש to שומע . . . שאין בה בזיון ת"ל. But that change does not affect the contradiction between the beginning and the conclusion for the *baraita* starts out to prove that a Hebrew slave may not be put to disgraceful work, and ends with a prohibition against using him for work other than his trade.

It seems obvious that the portion of the *baraita* שומע שומע אני כל עבודה במשמע . . . שאין בה בזיון ת"ל לא תעבוד בו עבודת עבד מכאן אמרו לא ירחוק לו רגליו ולא ינעול לו מנעוליו and that only accidentally was it inserted here.

- (10S) On page 195, line 13 (Lauterbach II, p. 177, line 227) we are told:

אמרו הדבר הזה דרש ר' יצחק א כ ו ק  
ודבר זה דרש ר' יצחק ז  
והדרש הזה דרש ר' יצחק פ [במ ט ח' העינין]

But on investigation in what follows we find that the argument in question was actually raised by R. Zadok (see line 18 of ed. Horovitz, and line 236 of ed. Lauterbach). *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai (p. 88) further

confirms that the correct reading in the first passage is R. Zadok, yet יצחק 'ר is found in all sources.

In a few instances מ has preserved a superior text to that found common to *Vehizhir* and אכטוק. This might lead us to suppose that אכטוק form a group separate from מ. But that is I believe, an error for it simply indicates a correct emendation by the writer of the *Midrash Hakamim* and not a more authentic tradition. Still it seems well to give some examples of this phenomenon.

- (10T) Page 229, line 9 (Lauterbach II, p. 251, line 50)  
 ר' אומר כל שהיא מלא תשא ולמעלן [כן ה"ג בן אוק; ולמעלה  
 כר ט; ולמטה מ] התשובה מכפרת מלא תשא ולמטה [כן  
 הגרסה בן כר טוק, ולמטן א; ולמעלה מ] ולא תשא עמהן  
 התשובה תולה ויום הכפורים מכפר זאכר טוק  
 [בתוספתא יום הכפורים פ"ה ה"ו מבורר שהגרסה הנכונה היא זו של  
 מ, וכן הובא במכילתא דרשב"י, וכן הגיה באיפת צדק]
- (10U) Page 262, line 3  
 עדין אני אומר יקין לו דם משני [בשני ז] איברים וימות זאכר  
 טוק [והגרסה הנכונה, כמו שהעיר הרוביץ, היא גרסת כ"י מ  
 משאר איברים]

# XI. Maimonides's Text of the *Mekilta*.

Maimonides in his *Sefer Ha-Mizvot* ascribes approximately fifty passages to the *Mekilta*. More than thirty of them can be traced to our *Mekilta*; ten to the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon; and ten to the *Sifre Zutta* on Numbers. What then was the relation of these books to each other in the codices used by Maimonides?

The natural suggestion which occurs to one is that all three treatises were found in his Mss. as a single unit, just as in our Mss. and editions, the *Sifre* on Numbers is combined with the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy though they derive from different schools. It seems almost incredible that if Maimonides had known the books which he cites under the name of *Mekilta* as three separate works, he would not have added some distinguishing attribute in making his citations, so as to guide the reader properly. Furthermore in Neg. Com. 60, Maimonides actually cites a

passage from our *Mekilta*, and then another from the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon which he introduced with the words, ובמכילתא ונסמך indicating that both passages come from the same work.

On the other hand, it is also true that in two passages, Pos. Com. 20, and Neg. Com. 15, Maimonides does distinguish the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon<sup>19</sup> by calling it, forsooth, ישמעאל מכילתא דר'. He uses the same name for the *Sifre Zutta*, in his Introduction, Root 11. This would seem to indicate that he had codices containing only the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon and the *Sifre Zutta*, and that these, strangely, both went under the name of *Mekilta* of R. Ishmael. It is noteworthy that his son, R. Abraham, also cites the *Sifre Zutta* as *Mekilta* of R. Ishmael (*Ma'ase Nissim*, Paris 1867, p. 60 bottom).

To complicate the matter further, Maimonides remarks in his Introduction to the *Yad*: ור' ישמעאל פירש מאלה שמות עד סוף, החזרה והוא הנקרא מכילתא וכן ר' עקיבא חבר מכילתא, a statement which would indicate that he had a work called *Mekilta* of R. Ishmael which covered all the last four books of the Bible. Even granting that he might have made the statement though he no longer possessed a *Mekilta* on Leviticus, he must certainly have found in his *Mekilta* of R. Ishmael codices, also the *Mekilta* on Deuteronomy, which actually goes back to the School of R. Ishmael.

But to spoil this theory, Maimonides regularly cites the *Mekilta* as well as the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy under the name *Sifre*,<sup>20</sup> indicating that in his codices, the two were combined.

Finally, while in the *Sefer Ha-Mizvot* Maimonides clearly gives preference to the readings of our *Mekilta*, where its text is parallel to that of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai (see for example, Root 4, ed. Heller 8d), in his *Moreh*, he prefers the reading of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon ben Johai (see *Moreh*, part II, chap. 32, end, ed. Munk, Vol. II, p. 74b).

<sup>19</sup> This is especially noteworthy in Pos. Com. 20, where he cites the ordinary *Mekilta* without any attribute, and the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon, as *Mekilta* of R. Ishmael.

<sup>20</sup> So, e. g. Neg. Com. 95, 140.

It is obvious from all this that at present no definite conclusions can be reached as to the form in which Maimonides possessed the tannaitic Midrashim.

On the other hand, it is certain from the finds which have been made in the Genizah<sup>21</sup> that there were extant in Egypt separate codices of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon and of the *Sifre Zutta*.

It is only these texts that made their way, apparently from Egypt into Yemen. For the Yemenite texts of the Midrashim contained, so far as we can judge, only the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon on Exodus and the *Sifre Zutta* on Numbers, while for Deuteronomy they had a combined *Sifre* consisting of the Midrashim of both Schools.

A study of the citations of the *Mekilta* found in the *Sefer Ha-Mizvot* shows it to have been a definitely Oriental text. Its nearest relatives are the texts used by the *Sefer Vehizhir* and the *Pesita Zuqtreta*, as we might have expected *a priori*. In fact one of the passages cited by Maimonides, and depended upon by him for a decision in the *Yad*, becomes clear only by comparison with the parallel passage in the *Vehizhir*, which in turn it illumines.

Maimonides says, (Positive Commandment No. 155), ולשון מכילתא זכור את יום השבת לקדשו לקדשו בברכה ובבאור אמרו פסחים וזכרו על היין ואמרו ג"כ קדשהו בכניסתו וקדשהו ביציאתו כלומר הברלה.

The passage indicated by the spaced letters occurs neither in our text of the *Mekilta* nor in the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon, or for that matter anywhere else in the extant tannaitic literature. Yet Maimonides relies upon it for the following decision which he renders in the *Yad*, מצות עשה מן התורה לקדש את יום השבת בדברים, שנאמר זכור את יום השבת לקדשו כלומר זכרוהו זכירת שבח וקדוש וצריך לזכרהו

<sup>21</sup> Doctor Benjamin Lewin discovered seven leaves of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon, in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, which he and Professor Marx generously turned over to me to prepare for publication. Other parts of the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon were published by Doctor Schechter (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1904, p. 443-5) and were utilized by Hoffmann in his edition (see Introduction, p. IX). Of the *Sifre Zutta*, one fragment was published by Doctor Schechter in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1894, p. 657; and another by Prof. I. N. Epstein, in *Tarbiz* I, 1, p. 46ff.



בכניסתו וביציאתו בכניסתו בקדוש היום וביציאתו בהברלה (ה' שבת כ"ט א').

The commentaries to the passage struggle in vain to find the source for this decision. But in the *Sefer Vehizhir* (28b) we find the following: לְקַדְּשׁוֹ בְּבִרְכָּה, מִכֵּן אָמְרוּ קִדְּשׁוּ עַל הַיּוֹן בְּכִנְיֹסֶת אֵין לִי: the following: אֵין לִי אֵלָא בְּכִנְיֹסֶת אֵין לִי אֵלָא קִדְּשׁוּ לַלַּיְלָה קִדְּשׁוּ לַיּוֹם מִנֵּין ת"ל וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֵין לִי אֵלָא בְּכִנְיֹסֶת [בִּיצִיאָתוֹ] קִדְּשׁוּ בְּכִנְיֹסֶת קִדְּשׁוּ בִיצִיאָתוֹ מִנֵּין ת"ל זָכוֹר אַתָּה יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת לְקַדְּשׁוֹ. Maimonides, of course, had the full text of which he cites only the end. In the parent of our *Mekilta* texts, the apodosis had been omitted (perhaps through homoioteleuton), and only the few, meaningless words still preserved in *Vehizhir* had remained. The other texts did not transcribe them.

The fact that the *Vehizhir* alone of all the texts has retained a remnant of this ancient reading would indicate the close relation between its text of the *Mekilta* and that used by Maimonides. Unfortunately, however, the few citations in Maimonides and the fragmentary nature of the *Vehizhir* permit no definite conclusions on the subject.

On the other hand, there is indication that the text of Maimonides is descended from the same ancestry as the other *Mekilta* texts now extant,<sup>22</sup> in the citation he makes in Neg. Com. 317, from *Mekilta*, *Mishpatim*, chap. 19, p. 317, line 14ff. The *Mekilta* there reads:

אלהים לא תקלל, אין לי אלא דיין, נשיא מנין ת"ל ונשיא בעמך לא תאור. אני אקרא נשיא בעמך לא תאור, אחד נשיא ואחד דיין במשמע ומה ת"ל אלהים לא תקלל לחייב על זה בפני עצמו ועל זה בפני עצמו. מכאן אמרו יש מדבר דבר אחד וחייב עליו משום ד' דברים בן נשיא שקלל את האב חייב בארבעה דברים, משום נשיא ואב ודיין ומשום בעמך לא תאור. ר' יהודה בן בתירא אומר אלהים

<sup>22</sup> This is confirmed by what we found in the analysis of the *Sifre* on Deuteronomy where the text of Maimonides is almost identical with that of the *Midrash Ha-Gadol*, and both derive from an ancestral text which they share with the European texts. (See Proceedings, 1931-2, p. 20ff.).

לא תקלל ונשיא בעמך לא תאור שומע אני לא יהא חייב עד שיהא דיין ונשיא ת"ל  
אלהים לא תקלל לחייב עליו משום דיין, ונשיא בעמך לחייב עליו משום נשיא.  
ומה ת"ל בעמך בזמן הן עושין מעשה עמך. אלהים לא תקלל אין לי  
אלא דיין ונשיא שאר כל אדם מניין ת"ל בעמך לא תאור  
מכל מקום.

But, as R. Elijah Gaon of Wilna remarked, it is obvious that the passage at the end (indicated by the spaced words above) has been misplaced, for it would naturally come before the words **מכאן אמרו**. R. Elijah's suggestion, that the text be emended by putting the passage there, is accepted by Horovitz. What seems to me probable is that the passage beginning with **מכאן אמרו** and ending with **עושין מעשה עמך** is an interpolation. This view is strengthened by the following considerations:

1. The passage beginning with **מכאן אמרו** is certainly corrupt, for among the four separate penalties it enumerates are those for cursing one's father, the prince, and the judge. But as the commentators have pointed out there is no special provision against cursing one's father; that law is implied in those against cursing others (see p. 268, line 11ff.). But since there is no special prohibition mentioned in the matter, there can be no special penalty for it. (Cf. notes of Horovitz, ad loc.).

2. The statement of R. Judah ben Bathyra as it stands is meaningless, as Horovitz has noted. For the verse in Scripture does not at all indicate that **לא יהא חייב עד שיהא דיין ונשיא**. On the contrary, a careful distinction is made between **דיין** and **נשיא**.

Such errors and confusion, as was found in the *Sifre*, are most common in interpolations, which, being written in small letters, on the margin, were frequently copied with difficulty and inaccurately.

But either on the assumption of R. Elijah Gaon, that the passage **מכל מקום . . . לא תקלל** had been misplaced, or on my suggestion, that the words **מכאן אמרו וכו'** are an interpolation, it is clear from the fact that Maimonides quotes the whole passage in conformity with our reading, that his texts were descended from the same lineage from which ours are derived.

XII. The Yemenite Text of the *Mekilta*.

As has been stated, the only *Mekilta* cited in the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* on Exodus is the *Mekilta* of R. Simeon. On the other hand the sources from which the author of the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* drew were clearly well-acquainted with our *Mekilta* and cited it. It is thus that we find in the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* for Deuteronomy long passages which are obviously derived from our *Mekilta* to the parallel passages in Exodus. It is interesting to note that the text cited shows a close kinship to that of *Vehizhir*, and is apparently derived from the same parent text, since both contain the same, peculiar copyist's errors. The following passages show this:<sup>23</sup>

(12A) Page 227, line 5:

ולשומרי מצותי אלו הנביאים והזקנים, ר' נתן אומר לאוהבי  
 ולשומרי מצותי אלו שהם יושבים [שיושבים מ] בארץ  
 ישראל ונותנים נפשם על [על כל א ט בכל כ ר] המצוות מ א כ  
 ט ו ק  
 ולשומרי מצותי אלו הנביאים והזקנים שבארץ ישראל ונותנים [שמוסרין  
 מ"ח] נפשם על המצות ז [מ"ח]

(12B) Page 227, line 9:

מה לך לוקה מספרגל [מאפרגל, ר רמב"ן] מ ר ו ק [רמב"ן]  
 מה לך לוקה מאה פרגול א ט פ  
 מה לך לוקה מכף הרגל ז  
 מה לך לוקה מכף הרגל ועד ראש [מ"ח]

It is clear that in passage 12A, the parent text of *Vehizhir* and *Midrash Ha-Gadol* both omitted a whole line containing the spaced words; and in 12B, that the unusual word מאפרגל was misread מכף הרגל which *Midrash Ha-Gadol* expands to מכף הרגל ועד ראש. This definitely marks the two texts as closely associated.

This close relation between the text of *Vehizhir* and the Yemenite sources is confirmed by a comparison of the *Vehizhir*

<sup>23</sup> For the text of *Midrash Ha-Gadol* to these passages, see *Midrash Tannaim*, ed. Hoffmann, p. 21.

text for the *Sifra* with that cited in *Midrash Ha-Gadol*. It is possible to compare the texts satisfactorily only for that part of the *Sifra* which is edited by Friedmann, and of this only one chapter is cited in the *Vehizhir*. Yet in this short passage, I have found the following striking similarities between *Vehizhir* and *Midrash Ha-Gadol*:<sup>24</sup>

(12C) Fr. Page 30, line 2, Weiss (3c)

לא הרי דבור הסנה שהוא תחלה לדברות כהרי [כי הרי א ב] דבור  
הר סיני שאינו תחלה לדברות א ב ג ט ת  
[ובן ד וגם במה"ג חסר המלה הרי נ]

(12D) Fr. Page 30, line 7, Weiss (*ibid.*)

יצא דבור אהל מועד שאינו באש א ב ג ת  
יצא דבור אהל מועד שאינו באש לפי כך לא נקדים בו קריה  
לדבור ז ט [מה"ג]

(12E) Fr. Page 31, line 3 Weiss (*ibid.*)

ומה אם מי שהוא שומע מפי הקדש [הגבורה א] א ב ג ט ד  
מה אם משה שהוא שומע מפי הקדש [מה"ג]  
ומה אם משה מפי הגבורה נ

(12F) Fr. Page 31, line 4 (*ibid.*)

על אחת כמה וכמה הדיוט מהדיוט [מן הדיוט ד] א ב ג ט ד  
על אחת כמה וכמה הדיוט מפי הדיוט [מה"ג]  
הדיוט מפי הדיוט על אחת כמה וכמה נ

(12G) Fr. Page 32, line 2, Weiss (*ibid.* 3d)

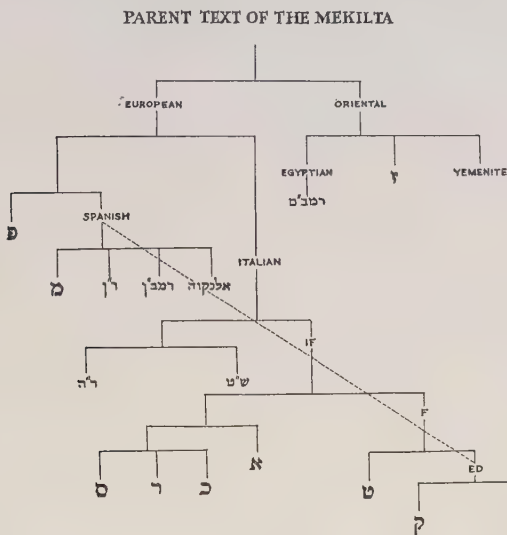
לשון חבה לשון זרח א ב ג ט ד מ  
לשון אהבה ולשון [לשון ז] חבה ולשון [לשון ז] זרח ז [מה"ג]

### XIII. The Parent Text of the *Mekilta*.

The discussion which we have thus far pursued has demonstrated that all our available texts and citations of the *Mekilta* derive ultimately from a common source. The close kinship between *Vehizhir* and the European texts on the one hand, and

<sup>24</sup> I have utilized Friedmann's readings for the citations from the *Sifra*, adopting the following *sigla*: א for Ms. Vatican I; ב for Ms. Vatican II; ג for Ms. Breslau; ת for *Tanhuma*; and מה"ג for the *Midrash Ha-Gadol* (ed. Rabinowitz). The other *sigla* are the same as for the rest of the paper.

the Yemenite-Maimonidean texts on the other, leaves little room for doubt in the matter. We may therefore construct the following table of lineage among the texts of the *Mekilta*:<sup>24a</sup>



(The extant texts are indicated by the Hebrew sigla used in the rest of the paper; the hypothetical texts by Roman letters; full lines indicate descent, broken lines partial influence).

#### XIV. The Mechanics of the Editions.

No less important than the preparatory work of classifying the texts and of choosing the correct readings, is that of providing the proper mechanical devices for the student. I have myself sinned in this regard in the first part of my edition of the *Sifre*, where I was not careful to retain the same order of the *sigla* throughout. The result will inevitably be trouble for the student, but I could not make the corrections in proof, and had to let the error stand for the part that was already in press, when I discovered how grave the difficulty was.

<sup>24a</sup> I want to thank Mr. Joseph B. Abrahams, Secretary of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for his kindness in drawing the diagram.



It should be a rule that when a passage is omitted from one text, that omission should be marked in a single note; it is improper to indicate it by halves, as is done, e. g. in ed. Horovitz, p. 273, line 1. The whole passage is omitted in the *Sefer Vehizhir*, and only part in the *Yalkut*. The editor divides this variant into two, and remarks to line 1 'ד"א — לישראל] זח' and then to line 2: שאינו — בשבט] ז ט ח'. This gives a false impression of some connection between ז and ט which does not exist. It would be justifiable only if it were known that ז and ט belong to the same group, which they do not.

Thus again on page 270, line 13, the words שומע אני of most texts are replaced by ולא מן in the *Midrash Hakamim*. This should be indicated by the following sign: שומע אני] ולא מן; instead the editor divides the variant into two parts and says: שומע אני] מ ח' — ולא מן מ.

On page 227, line 13, the editor remarks: וכשם כ ח' א ד ט כ. This leaves the actual reading of כ in doubt. Such errors are not infrequent.

More frequently the student is misled—and perhaps the editor himself was misled—by the habit of mentioning only the authorities for the variant reading, instead of the authorities both for the accepted reading, and for that rejected. Thus on page 261, line 15, we read in Ed. Horovitz:

(14A) נאמר כאן מות יומת ונאמר להלן בנואף מות יומת מה להלן בחנק אף כאן בחנק.

This is altogether in accordance with the well-known halaka that the punishment for adultery is חנק. On looking into the variant we note the innocent remark בסייף — א ד בסייף which indicates that one Ms. (that of Oxford)<sup>25</sup> and the printed editions read בסייף instead of בחנק. The editor takes no note of this variant in his commentary and we should pass it over as readily as he does, if we neglected to observe that the reading בחנק which he accepts is based only on the *Yalkut* and the *Vehizhir*. For all his other texts, the Munich Ms., the *Midrash Hakamim* and the *Pesiqta*, omit the passage entirely. Now the *Yalkut* and the *Sefer Vehizhir*, are both compilations whose

<sup>25</sup> In ח the passage has been omitted, through *homoioteleuton*.

authors might naturally be suspected of changing the text of the *Mekilta* to suit that of the recognized Mishnaic law. Their evidence in this instance is therefore doubtful. It is furthermore a possible conjecture that the texts which omitted the passage did so because they could not reconcile their reading of it with the Mishnaic law. It is therefore most likely that the correct reading of the passage is: **מה להלן בסייף אף כאן בסייף** and that, as Friedmann remarks, the law recorded in the *Mekilta* differed from that given in the Talmud. As frequently, the School of R. Ishmael was more severe in its punishments than that of R. Akiba, and prescribed **סייף** instead of **חנק**, for adultery. The editor would himself probably have escaped his error had he listed the variants thus: **בחנק ט ז בסייף א ד**. The note would have shown him at once that the reading **בסייף** had far better authority than **בחנק**.

On page 274, line 18, the *Mekilta* lays down the rule **שחבל שחבל אשה לבעלה**. This is repeated on page 276, line 6. Horovitz retains this text in both places, but remarks in his commentary, both times, that the word **לבעלה** should be emended to **לאשה**. He has no authority for this suggestion, save the parallel passages in the Talmud. Yet it is obvious that we have here a factional deviation from the standard *halaka* of the Talmud.

(14B) A similar emendation is made on page 247, line 15, where however, the editor undertook to change the text itself. The passage is omitted in *Midrash Hakamim*. According to ed. pr., which Horovitz follows the *baraita* reads:

**יכול יקראנו עבד לשום בויון ת"ל כי תקנה עבד עברי התורה קראתו עבד בעל כרחו.**

This rule seems humanitarian enough, but unfortunately lacks the virtue of lucidity. How was the Torah compelled to call the slave **עבד**? And if it was how does that prove that the master may not call him by that name?

But the Mss. and the *Sefer Vehizhir* have an entirely different reading. According to them the *baraita* says:

**או אל [או אינו אלא ז אל א] תקראנו עבד לשום בויון ת"ל כי תקנה עבד עברי על [בעל ז] כרחו התורה [הכתוב ז] קראו עבד א כ ר ז**

It is clear that the correct text is that preserved in **כ ר** and that the *Mekilta* intends to *sanction*, not to forbid, calling the

Hebrew slave עבד. The *Sefer Vehizhir* made an effort to soften the statement, and a similar effort was made by the copyist of **8**. But the apodosis which neither of them dared change stands as final proof against them and in favor of the text of כר.

The rules for editing tannaitic texts, which I should thus put down on the basis of the experience I have had in the *Sifre*, and of what I have noticed from the *Mekilta*, are these:

1. The classification of the texts must precede any attempt at the selection of readings.
2. The editor must not give preference to the text which happens to be printed, simply because it is a customary text.
3. When all the known texts are derived from a single source, the editor must frequently allow himself considerable discretion with regard to emendation of the text, when the error appears in all the manuscripts and editions before him.
4. To avoid all confusion for the student, the editor should give in the variants the word or words with regard to which the texts disagree. It is not enough to let the student guess to which word the variant refers.<sup>26</sup>
5. The variants should be so arranged that the student will be able to see which are peculiar to a single text, and which belong to a whole family of texts.
6. Above the list of variants, on each page, the editor should indicate the texts he utilized in the editing of that page; and if some of them cover only part of it, which part of it they cover. This will enable the student to reconstruct the reading of all the texts without taking the trouble to search back through the variants to discover whether the particular passage he is studying occurs in all the Mss. As an alternative, it may prove easier to list after each variant which has the support of more than one text, all the texts which support the reading chosen for the main text.

<sup>26</sup> At the meeting of the Academy, at which this paper was read, some of the hearers believed that this need not be a fixed rule; they thought that the word with regard to which the texts disagree need be given in the variants only when there is possibility of doubt.

7. Where an emendation has been undertaken, that should be indicated both in notes and in variants.
8. Passages which the editor considers interpolations, but which have for centuries been cited as part of the book, should be retained but published in smaller type to differentiate them from the main text. This is more easily done in a midrashic text, which consists of fragmentary discussions, than in a continuous work, in which it would be necessary to delete the additions and print them separately on the margin or below the line.<sup>27</sup>
9. When biblical passages occur in the texts in a shortened form, while the rabbinic discussion implies the full citation, the editor may supply the missing part, but he should indicate in his variants that he has done so.
10. Where there is reason to believe that the text of the Scripture cited in the tannaitic work was different from that current in the usual biblical texts, the reading of the tannaitic work should naturally be retained in the main text. The deviation should be noted in the notes, and preferably also in the variants. Where, however, it is not clear that the original midrash contained a different reading from that current in modern biblical texts, the editor may accept the reading of the Ms. or printed edition which most closely approaches the ordinary biblical reading, and indicate the deviations in the variants. It will generally be found that the deviations from the usual biblical texts occur in the additions of late copyists, who completed the verses from memory or, more frequently, had to decipher the abbreviations of the verses which the older copyists used.
11. Since no text is uniform in its orthography, the editor may establish his own orthography,<sup>28</sup> based preferably on what he considers the probable form used in the parent text, and

<sup>27</sup> Some of the hearers objected to this rule, holding rather that interpolations should be taken out of the text, and published by themselves, either among the variants, or as separate notes.

<sup>28</sup> The questions of orthography are of particular importance in making corrections of the texts. Thus on p. 6, line 13 (Lauterbach I, p. 15, line 3) we read:

- adhere to it uniformly. It would be well if in the introduction he indicated the various systems of orthography used by the various texts, and illustrated by copious examples, to help the future student of Hebrew orthography and grammar.
12. The editor has the right to determine which abbreviations he shall retain, and which he shall undertake to decipher. He must, however, be uniform in this, and indicate the rules by which he guides himself.
  13. The editor should avoid inserting notes into the variants where they are likely to confuse the student, who sometimes cannot be sure whether the words are the editor's own or are transcribed from the Ms. The editor's remarks should, wherever possible, be put in parentheses or otherwise indicated as his own.
  14. A study of the Mss. frequently shows that the division current in the printed texts is of late origin, and has little or no basis in authentic tradition.<sup>29</sup> It is the editor's duty in such cases to substitute what he regards as the original division for that which is current in the printed text, but to supply also indications to the usual divisions by parenthetical marks, and also by notes on the top of the page. This will help the student who finds references to the work, under the old division, to place the citation. As the sections into which rabbinic works are divided are usually very long, it is well to subdivide them further as far as possible. In books which refer to the Scriptures, like the tannaitic midrashim under discussion, the reference to the Bible should be supplied before each passage, and at the head of each page.

ר' עקיבא אומר זה אחד משלשה דברים שנתקשה משה והראהו המקום א ת כ ל ן ב א צ ב ע.

This statement does indeed sound too anthropomorphic for R. Akiba to whom it is attributed, and Horovitz with his genius for interpretation emends the spaced words to read באצבע. כא לו באצבע. But the fact is that no emendation is necessary, for the word אה is omitted in practically all the sources, and for כלן Ms. Munich (כ) reads כולו, which is an obvious error for כילו. Now כילו is the old Palestinian spelling of כאילו. Thus on p. 111, line 11, the Oxford Ms. (א) writes כילו where the other texts have כאילו. So that the actual text of כ, and not a mere emendation, provides us the excellent reading: והראהו המקום כאילו באצבע.

<sup>29</sup> This is flagrantly true of the *Sifra* (See Frankel, *M.G.W.J.* III 1854 p. 389); but it applies in a lesser degree also to the *Sifre* and the *Mekilta*.



# MIS-TRANSLATION AS SOURCE IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LORE I.

LEO JUNG

## Introduction:

- (1) Habakkuk III 2
- (2) The "Watchers" of Enoch
- (3) Ashmedai
- (4) Jephtha
- (5) Leviathan
- (6) Some Cases of Mis-reading
- (7) Some Cases of Theological Bias

Freedom of interpretation implies the possibility of fanciful or ad hoc homiletics. Such tendency, frequent in the Midrash and Talmud, is to be found also among the Church Fathers, who have borrowed both matter and method from the Agada of the Rabbis. One may therefore expect not only Derash and Remez, but also the phenomenon of perfectly straightforward texts being made the peg on which to hang a tale. From Bereshit Rabbah to Abraham a Santa Clara one finds stories dragged into the text or lugged out of it for exhortatory or illustrative purposes. In some cases an ambiguous word is given an interpretation which bears at least a semblance of justification, or a phrase is translated so as to account for the story which is subsequently introduced. An ad hoc translation is suggested by, or is the source for, a cycle of legends. We shall proceed to such mis-translations as may be said to be due to theological bias, there endeavoring to show how far-reaching such conscious or unconscious error may become.

## I

*Habakkuk III, 2*

ה' פעלך בקרב שנים חייהו

"O Lord revive thy work in the midst of the years."

*The Jewish versions* have the simple text.

*Jerome, in his Vulgate*, (ed. Hetzenauer, 1906) translates:

"Domine opus tuum in medio annorum vivifica illud."

"O Lord revive thy work in the midst of the years."

The Peshitta reads:

כִּנְדָּל נִבְרָא בְּיָמֵי חַיָּהוּ

The *Septuagint* has a treble rendering:

Ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ

ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ

ἐν τῷ παρῆναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναθελχθήσῃ

"In the midst of two animals thou shalt be known. When the years draw nigh thou shalt be recognized. When the time approaches thou shalt be declared."

The Old Itala (Second Century), translates:

"In medio duorum animalium cognosceris" (which Jerome revised into "innotesceris").

The first mis-reading of the text must have been:

בקרב שני חיים

"between the years of life;"

the second, "between the two lives" that is, the present and the one we are waiting for;

the third, בקרב (שני) חיות

"between two animals."

Prof. Bewer (of the Union Theological Seminary) has demonstrated by hundreds of examples that the LXX does not take grammatical nuances too seriously. Nor is it difficult to account for the mis-reading of the unpunctuated text.

Once the "work of God" was to become known "between two animals," it was not difficult for an ingenious mind to discover two animals referred to in connection with their master, the master. Thus ox and ass come into the story. Isaiah (1,3) is made to predict place and circumstance of the nativity, and Habakkuk clinches the account. The workmanship is the same as that exhibited by the Midrash in making up a story through the combination of passages innocent of such meaning. Such homiletical exercise on Psalm 8 is responsible for the story of the angels contending as to the desirability of creating man, and of Truth being cast down from heaven, so that Truth may spring up from the ground. (See also the combination of texts in the story of Leviathan.)

The Jews taught the Fathers of the Church<sup>1</sup> not only the subject matter of the Agada, their pupils imitated the very method, (as I have demonstrated in the appendix to "Fallen

<sup>1</sup> On the mutual relation of Hagadah and Church see L. Ginzberg's Standard Work, *The Legends of the Jews* 6 vols., J. P. S. A.

Angels"). Thus we arrive at the statement in Pseudo-Matthew, the earliest complete account of the Bethlehem nativity legend, according to which Jesus was born in a stable (where ox and ass would be found) in the midst of these two animals. The whole story is based on the mis-reading or mis-translation of three words: בקרב שנים חייהו.

Text of Emile Amann's *Le Protevangile de Jacques et ses Remaniements Latins*, (*Les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament publiés sous la direction de J. Bousquet et E. Amann*), Paris, 1910.

Pseudo-Matthew XIV:

*Tertia autem die nativitatis domini egressa est Maria de spelunca, et ingressa est stabulum, et posuit puerum in praesepio, et bos et asinus adoraverunt eum. Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Isaiam prophetam dicentem: "Cognovit bos possessorem suum at asinus praesepe domini sui." Ipsa autem animalia in medio eum habentes incessanter adorabant eum. Tunc adimpletum est quod dictum est per Habacuc prophetam dicentem: "In medio duorum animalium innotesceris". . .*

A. West in *Cont. Review* 1903, sees the germ of the story in Luke's account (2, 16) of the nativity where for the first time the manger (*φάτνη*) appears. Origen, who preached his homilies on Luke, connected ox and ass with the manger. Both in Isaiah 1, 3, and in Luke, the word *φάτνη* is used. Thus the passages in Isaiah and in Luke are united, capitalized, preached, expressed in art, laid down in Pseudo-Matthew. μέσφ δὸς ζώων—חיות—שני בקרב—becomes later on an argument for the Trinity.

Lest, however, this misinterpretation be ascribed wholly to denominational bias, may I mention that the very same words are interpreted in a non-Christian text in similar manner, in the Talmud Babli Sotah 49a. The connection is, of course, altogether different. But the ad hoc mis-reading is a startling coincidence:

אל חקרי בקרב שנים אלא בקרוב שנים

## II

## The "Watchers" of Enoch

The Book of Enoch, according to R. H. Charles, the latest authority, was written originally partly in Hebrew, partly in Aramaic. Dr. Charles holds in particular that chapters 1-5 were probably written in Hebrew. Prof. Margolis in *J. Q. R.*, New Series, vol. 4, p. 287, in a brief, incisive review, points to the precarious basis of any apodictical statement concerning the original language of a text, of which, in the words of Charles himself, "we have four-fifths only in the translation of a translation," while "such close affinity exists between the Hebrew and the Aramaic."

In 1, 5 the text reads: "And the watchers shall quake." Of these watchers, the Ethiopic Book of Enoch relates (10, 7) that they have disclosed secret things which they have taught their sons. The sons of the watchers are to be destroyed from amongst men (10, 9). They have wronged mankind (10, 15). "The watchers of the heaven have (12, 4) left the high heaven and have defiled themselves with women and have taken unto themselves wives. They shall have no peace nor forgiveness. . . ." (12, 4-6).

In accordance with the command of the Holy Great One the eternal watchers are to be reprimanded (14, 1), even they who are "the watchers, the children of heaven" (14, 4). From the holy watchers is the beginning and the primal origin of the evil spirits (15, 9). On the day of judgment, the watchers' punishment will be consummated (16, 1). They sent Enoch to intercede for them, but because in the hardness of their hearts they have made known to women such mysteries as have been revealed to them, and because through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth, they shall have no peace (16, 1).

There are seven holy watchers, the archangels, (20, 1ff.), who still watch. All these things are told of the fallen angels, the story of which is based upon Genesis 6, 4, and with which the "watchers" obviously are to be identified. (For details, see my book, "Fallen Angels.")



Why are they called watchers? The name first occurs in Daniel 4, 10, 14, and 20.

ואלו עיר וקדיש  
עיר וקדיש נחית מן שמיא  
בגורת עירון פתגמא

The LXX translates ἄγγελος (angel); one version has ἐγρήγορος (watcher) even as the Greek version of Enoch.

The Slavonic Book of Enoch has no reference to the watchers.

I beg leave to suggest that the "Ir" of Daniel is the "Šir" of the Hebrew Bible, meaning both "messenger" and "angel," even as "malakh" does. Thus the translation "vigilant= watcher" would be due to a mis-understanding of the "עיר" in Daniel and of the same word in the Aramaic original of Enoch. This word is to be derived not from the Aramaic and Hebrew root meaning to "be awake," but from the Hebrew root "ציר", meaning "messenger, angel." Thus becomes also self-evident the identification with the fallen angels and the archangels; thus the sons of the watchers are seen to be the sons of the angels, the sons of God of Genesis 6, 4. That the Zadokkite fragments have נפלו עירי שמים lends additional support to this suggestion. Montgomery, from whose book on Daniel I derived this reference, refers to "hashomrim" of Is. 62, 6, a somewhat far-fetched suggestion, I believe.<sup>2</sup>

### III

#### *Ashmedai*

Koheleth II, 8: עשיתי לי שרים ושרות ותענוגות בני האדם שרה ושרות.

"I got me men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, shiddah ve shiddoth." Main interpretations of Shiddah:

- (1) LXX οἰνοχόον καὶ οἰνοχόας (male and female cupbearer for which interpretation there are both Talmudic (שדא, to pour away), and Syriac (Payne Smith, Thes. 4063) parallels.

<sup>2</sup> My friend, Mr. S. A. Neuhausen, of Baltimore informs me that Dr. S. Rubin, in his introduction to "The Book of Jubilees", seems to have made the same suggestion. See also Steinberg in 27 משפט האורים ע'.

- (2) Arabic: شد denoting intensity, strength, hence "multitude," "a heap and heaps" (of things). The J. P. A. "very many women."
- (3) Arabic: سد, "hide," whence "woman of the harem."
- (4) Arabic: سند, "lean upon," thus "bed" and "concubine."
- (5) Hebrew: שד, "breast," then "female."
- (6) Chair (Talm.) perhaps due to *sanada*. Rashi: Sedan chair.
- (7) Vulgate: scyphos ac urceos, ("goblets and pitchers") in ministerio ad vina fundenda.
- (8) Assyrian: *shiddu*, (bull deity), hence demon.

The first seven interpretations are philological suggestions without any obvious legendary connections. But the "demon" had immediate associations. See T. B. Gittin 68a: "For what purpose did Solomon need the demon?"

The Bible prohibited the use of iron instruments for the building of the altar. In Kings 6, 7 we read: "And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready at the quarry; and there was neither hammer nor axe, nor any tool of iron, heard in the house while it was in building."

Solomon asked the Rabbis how he could break the stones for the temple without iron tools. They referred him to the Shamir, obtainable through the demon, Ashmedai.

The task was now to find evidence for Ashmedai in the Bible.

The ambiguous word שד, kin to שד, offered the opportunity. The whole Ashmedai story is an outgrowth. Again by translating שד, as demons (and demonesses), the source is provided for a whole cycle of legends.

A demon becomes the demon, the head of all demons, Ashmedai, and all earlier strata of chief-demoniac lore become integrated into the Ashmedai account in Gittin.

#### IV

#### JEPHTHAH

#### *Judges XII, 7*

וישפט יפתח את ישראל שש שנים וימת יפתח הגלעדי ויקבר בערי גלעד.

"And Jephthah judged Israel six years. Then died Jephthah, the Gileadite, and was buried in (one of) the cities of Gilead."

Obviously that should be the simple meaning. But the wording is curious. So was Jephthah. His rash vow was criticized both by his contemporaries and by later Jewish opinion. What was his punishment? Perhaps the text may suggest it: ויקבר בערי גלעד.

How can a man be buried in *cities*? Obviously only if he died in several places. How is that possible?

The answer given is:

יפתח מת בנשילת אברים בכל מקום שהיה הולך אבר נשל ממנו והיה קוברין אותו הרא הוא דכתיב וימת יפתח ויקבר בערי גלעד בעיר גלעד אין כתיב אלא בערי גלעד.

“Limb after limb fell off his body and was buried each in a different place”—Midrash Rabbah, Levit. 37; Bereshith Rabbah 60; Yalkut Shimeoni, Judges—a. 1.

The Septuagint has a curious rendering: καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν πόλει αὐτοῦ ἐν Γαλαάδ (either paraphrastic, or misreading πύλιν for ערי). “And he was buried in his city, Gilead.”

## V

### *Leviathan*

Text: Ps. 104, 25–26: זה הים גדול ורחב ידיים שם רמש ואין מספר. חיות קטנות עם גדלות. שם אניות יהלכון לויתן זה יצרת לשחק בו.

“Yonder sea, great and wide, wherein there are things moving, innumerable. Living creatures both great and small. There do the ships make their course. There is Leviathan whom thou hast formed to play therein.”

(1) The simple translation (Saadyah) refers to Leviathan as a general term for monsters of the great sea, who sport therein. This translation is in accord with the context. The sea is the playground of the mighty monsters which display God's power and goodness as they disport themselves in the enjoyment of life.

(2) The LXX reads: δράκων οὗτος ὃν ἐπλασας ἐμπαίζειν αὐτῷ (see B. Aboda Z. 3b) (to play at, deride).

“This dragon whom thou hast formed to deride, to sport with.”

The Peshitta: ܕܪܐܟܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ.

The Vulgate: “Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei”

The Targum (ed Lagarde): לוייתן דיין בריתא למגחך לצדקיא בסעודת בית מדוריה

All these versions translate לוֹשֶׁק בּוֹ, "to play with," that is, God has created the great Leviathan to sport therewith.

Undoubtedly, as Gruenbaum indicates, Job 40, 29 is co-responsible for this mis-translation.

Scheftelowitz, (Altpalaest. Bauernglaube), sees in Leviathan "einen mythologischen Fisch aus uralter Zeit," developed by the Rabbis.

"Dost thou play with him as with a bird?" (40, 29) God asks of Job—that indicates agadistically and logically that God could achieve such sporting with the awful monster. The Talmud, Aboda Zara 3b, and B. Bathra 74a, 75a, develops this idea.

God laughs at, or with, His creatures. This is the theme of a piyyut מערכה לאל' מַעֲרָכָה אֶפְאֵר for שבת חוד"מ סוכות found in the Ashkenazic Mahsor.

(3) לוֹשֶׁק בּוֹ, in the further development of this cycle, is translated as causative: "to give joy"—to the animals or to the righteous who are to enjoy his meat in fullness of time. (B.B. l. c. and Targum Jonathan a. l.). This feature again is derived from God's question to Job, deriding human impotence and querying whether the bands of fisherman will make a banquet of him. (ib. 30) This indicated that man could not have such sport with Leviathan, but God could cause them the joy of a banquet of him.

(4) In the Midrash and in the Zohar (Leviticus ed. Lublin III 58), לוֹיִתִּין is interpreted to mean, (לוֹה) "their company," their associates, (this may throw light on Job 3, 8). "Whosoever joins Israel (is of their company) will be happy (playing, sporting) in fullness of time." (Midrash, Shohar Tov, Warsaw).

"The whole of nature is the accompaniment which thou hast created to find joy therein." (connecting Job 40, 20 with Ps. 104, 26.)

The mis-translation of the word "בּוֹ" is responsible for the whole cycle of Leviathan legends.

## VI

*Some Cases of Mis-reading as Sources of Lore.*

(1): חולין צה.

Rabbi Joḥanan sent to Samuel

תליסר גמלי ספיקי טריפתא

twelve camels laden with questions concerning tarfuth.

Rashi remarks: לאו דוקא. But Rabbenu Ḥananel rejects the apparent guzma as a mis-reading.

The correct text is: תליסר גוילי, twelve scrolls, letters containing questions about טרפות.

(2) T. B. Rosh Hashanah 28:

In the Yesod of Rabbi Yitzchok ben Yehudah, teacher of Rashi, the practice is mentioned of blowing the Shofar to drive off a demon. That the shaking of the lulab was by some associated with such preventive effort is obvious from Rashi's remark in Succah 29b. That the Tekioth and Teruoth of the Shofar in the synagogue services are to confuse Satan so that he be prevented from accusing, is stated in Babli Rosh Hashanah 16b and in the Yerushalmi as quoted by Tos. s. v. כדי. But why should the Shofar, blown for amusement, succeed in warding off demons in general?

The source again is a mis-reading.

The text in Rosh Hashanah 28a is:

אמר רבא התוקע לשיר יצא

One who blows on the New Year Day the Shofar as a musical exercise has fulfilled his duty.

לשיר was mis-read as לשד.

One who blows as a musical exercise thus becomes התוקע לשד.

"He who blows to ward off demons."

(3) In Shulḥan Aruḥ, Oraḥ Ḥayyim 614, details are given concerning the prohibition to wear leather shoes on Yom Kippur. Reference is also made to the Jews standing all day on their feet (shod or bare).



The origin of that custom of standing all Yom Kippur, (still observed by individuals in certain countries), is to be found in Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 46:

אמר (סמאל) לפניו רבש"ע יש לך עם אחד בארץ כמלאכי השרת בשמים  
מה מלאכי השרת אין להם קפיצין כך הם ישראל עומדים על רגליהן ביום  
הכפורים.

Samael said, before the Holy One, blessed be He:

"Lord of the universe, Thou hast one people like the ministering angels who are in heaven. Just as the ministering angels have no joints (and therefore are unable to sit down) so the people of Israel are standing on their feet all the day of Yom Kippur."

The angels are standing, because they cannot sit down, having no קפיצין joints.

That angels can but stand is inferred: [Gen. Rabbah 65, 22; Talmud B. Bekhorot 41a; Yerushalmi Shavuot 7, 6; Levit. Rabbah 86, 3.] from the facts that

(1) they are referred to as standing, in Joshua 5, 13; Isaiah 6, Ezekiel 8, 11; Zechariah 3, 5; Daniel 7, 16,

(2) because Satan says: (Job 2, 2) "I have come from floating about in the earth."

In both cases the quotations are used illustratively and meant logically, the inference being that since angels are referred to as "standing" and Satan as "floating" or "standing" (Zechariah 3, 1), evidently their bodies lack joints for sitting down.

(Gen. 28, 12 עולים ויורדים בו is assumed to be inconclusive and hence ignored).

The origin therefore of the custom of remaining standing all Yom Kippur is an ad hoc explanation of Biblical passages.

There are several versions, according to which the angels either have bare feet (whence the חומרא of wearing no shoes or stockings whatever, which the ב"ה mentions l. c.), or they have no joints and must either stand or float, whence the custom of remaining on one's feet from Kol Nidre to Neilah.

It may be worthwhile to find out the origin of the theory that angels are עומדים that is, abide in their state of innocence and whether there is any connection with the attribute עומדים occurring, in a different sense, in our passage.

(4) Blau, in his volume "Das altjuedische Zauberwesen," shows how the double meaning of a word may be productive of curious results.

סקר means "to look," "gaze," also "to paint red" (Arab. شقرة) חוש הסיקרא.

The Tosephta, Shebiith I, 10, (Zuckerman 61, 31) reads: סוקרין את האילן בסיקרא וטוענין אתו באבנים ואינו חושש לא משום שביעית ולא משום דרכי האמורי.

"One may color the tree and cover it with stones without compunction as to the seventh year *or to imitating the ways of the Amorite.*"

סקר means to dye and also to fascinate with the eye.

The fakir fascinates (סקר) the snake. (Lev. R. 22) קם למסקר בדהוא חויא.

The עין הרע may have affected the tree.

Hence cure סקירה through the סקירה!

One prevents the harm possible through the סקירה of the עין הרע, through previous סקירה with red color.

## VII

### *Some Cases of Theological Bias*

(a) The mis-translation of העלמה הרה is too well-known for any lengthy remark. Here denominational bias is almost obvious, for any student of the Hebrew Bible knows that בתולה is the terminus technicus for virgin.

(b) To the same category belongs the error in the interpretation of Isaiah, to be found in the gospel of Matthew XXI, 2-7.

The writers of the gospel were endeavoring to prove that Jesus was the expected Messiah by citing passages from the Hebrew Bible which in detail predicted his coming. They seized upon Zechariah 9, 9. "Behold the King cometh unto thee, lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass."

Ignorant of the fact that parallelism expresses the same thought twice, the gospel writer believed two animals were involved and makes Jesus say:

“Go in to the village over against you and straightway ye shall find an ass tied *and* a colt with her: loose *them* and bring them unto me.”

The Greek original reads in verses 2 and 7:

2. καὶ εὐθέως εὐρήσετε ὄνον δεδεμένην καὶ πῶλον μετ’ αὐτῆς. λύσαντες ἀγάγετε μοι.

7. ἤγαγον τὴν ὄνον καὶ τὸν πῶλον καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκάθισαν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν.

According to the original, Jesus performed the somewhat difficult feat of riding on two asses. The English translator, in accord with the Vulgate, avoids the difficulty by rendering:

“*And* they set him thereon.”

(c) The Vulgate, mistaking כִּי קָרַן עֹר פָּנָיו Ex. 34, 35 “the skin of Moses sent forth beams” (“קרן” meaning both “beam” or “horn”), is responsible for the horns of Moses on Michelangelo’s famous statue.



# AN UNIDENTIFIED HEBREW TRANSLATION OF ARISTOTLE'S *DE GENERATIONE ET CORRUPTIONE*

SAMUEL KURLAND

In the course of my work towards an edition of Averroes' *Intermediate Commentary* on Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione* I had occasion to consult among other manuscripts one now found at the Bet ha-Midrash in London which Steinschneider described as a Hebrew translation of Averroes' *Intermediate Commentary* made by Zerahiah ben Isaac in Rome about the year 1284 (MS. London, Bet ha-Midrash 42. Cf. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, sec. 60b, p. 131). But upon comparing it with manuscripts of Kalonymus ben Kalonymus' translation of the same work I found that the two were not the same in content. A close collation with the Greek text of Aristotle revealed the fact that the Bet ha-Midrash manuscript was a translation not of Averroes but of Aristotle.

Steinschneider can hardly be held responsible for the erroneous description he gives in his *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen*, since he did not see the manuscript in question but had to rely upon the testimony of others. The first to describe codex 42 of the Bet ha-Midrash in London was Leopold Dukes in a communication transmitted to Steinschneider by Kirchheim in March of 1857 which was subsequently published in *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, III (1860), pp. 99–100, under the heading: "Serachja b. Isak. Zur Aufklärung und Abwehr. Von M. Steinschneider. 1. Eine Notiz von Dukes." In that codex the third item, which is the subject of our paper, was described, according to Dukes' quotation, as follows: ספר ההויה וההפסד לאריסטוטלס העתקת זרחיה בן יצחק בן חנין. But upon comparing this description with those of other items in the same codex Dukes suggested that it be emended to read: ספר ההויה וההפסד לאריסטוטלס העתקת זרחיה בן יצחק מהעתקת בן חנין. He made this suggestion on the basis of the reading of the description of item #4 which is as follows: ספר



הנפש לאריסטו העתק זרחיה בן יצחק הספרדי מלשון ערבי אל לשון עברי מהעתקת חנין רסאלה פי מאהיה Alfarabi's description of published by the latter from the same codex (item #5) in חמדה גנוזה I, Königsberg, 1856, which description reads: ונתחבר ע"י זרחיה בן יצחק הספרדי ללשון עברי והוא הנקרא ג"כ בכינויו חנין (op. cit., p. XXIX). He offered the explanation that the absence of the word מהעתקת before the words בן חנין in the description of item #3 had led Edelman to misconstrue the word חנין as a surname of Zerahiah's. Beyond suggesting the above-mentioned emendation in the description of item #3, Dukes gave no further details concerning its authorship. He seems to have considered its Aristotelian authorship as self evident.

Dukes' "Notiz" did not impress Steinschneider very favorably. He published it with this introductory comment: "Es ist wieder einmal der Versuch gemacht worden, gelegentliche Aufdeckung von Plagiaten und Erfindungen, Confusionen und falschen Combinationen in den Vordergrund zu rücken und zu verschieben. Das soll uns nicht hindern, die Sache im Auge zu behalten, und gelegentlich wieder dreiste Angriffe abzufertigen. Um unbefangene Leser in keiner Weise zu captiviren, beginnen wir mit dem unveränderten Abdruck einer uns in März 1857 durch Hrn. Kirchheim zugesandten Notiz v. Dukes, die wir aus begreiflichen Rücksichten zurückgehalten, nun aber nur in dieser Weise veröffentlichen dürfen und müssen" (*Hebraeische Bibliographie*, l.c.). With this the matter seems to have been dropped.

The same Bet ha-Midrash codex (42) was later described by Neubauer in his *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jews' College, London*, Oxford, 1886, section 42. There he placed all the eight items contained in the codex under the general heading: "Hebrew translations of Averroes' commentaries by Zerahiah," in spite of the fact that some of these items contain no suggestion whatsoever that they are commentaries written by Averroes or translated by Zerahiah. This error on the part of Neubauer is all the more surprising, since he handled the manuscripts in question and copied their descriptions.

In his *Hebraeische Uebersetzungen* (sec. 60b, p. 131) Steinschneider listed two manuscripts of Zerahiah ben Isaac's supposed translation of Averroes' *Intermediate Commentary* on Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione*: viz. London, Bet ha-Midrash 42 and Rom, Casanatense J. VI, 4. He had before him and accepted Neubauer's description of the Bet ha-Midrash manuscript, but suggested one emendation in that description as quoted by Neubauer. He rejected the words בן חנין as a false reading for the word חן. In consequence, he rejected Dukes' emended reading of the description as quoted in his above-mentioned "Notiz" as well as the implication of that emendation: viz. that Ibn Honein was the Arab translator (Cf. *ibid.*, note 169). The following considerations, however, should have raised some doubt in the mind of Steinschneider as to the exact nature of the manuscript: a) he was aware of the fact that Averroes is not mentioned in the description; b) he himself called attention to the fact that the manuscript lacked at the beginning of the text the summarizing table of contents which he had noticed in the Arabic original of this commentary as well as in Kalonymus ben Kalonymus' translation of it and which is usually found before every main division and subdivision in all the intermediate commentaries of Averroes.

The Rome manuscript of the Zerahiah ben Isaac translation was recently described by Gustave Sacerdote (Cf. Sacerdote, *Catologo dei mss. ebraici della bibl. Casanatense*, #148 II, F. 96). It is evident from the reading of the beginning and end of this manuscript as quoted by him that it is the same as the Bet ha-Midrash manuscript. In spite of the fact that he saw the manuscript, Sacerdote, nevertheless, described it as the *Intermediate Commentary* of Averroes translated by Zerahiah ben Isaac ben Honein. His description reads as follows: "Comento medio di Averroë sul *De generatione et corruptione* di Aristotile, tradotto da Zerahjah b. Isaac b. Honein אמר ארסטו ראוי שנבאר מענין ההווה וההפסד מה שיתהווה ויפסד על הדרך הטבעי על המשל אחד E diviso in due libri, e finisce al f. 122 con le parole אבל באיש לא כי אם יהיו חוזרים באיש לא יחזרו מהם מה שיהיה עצמותו . . . שלא יהיו נמצאים

Thus all who dealt with the Zerahiah ben Isaac manuscript, with the exception of Dukes, described it as a translation of an intermediate commentary of Averroes. Neubauer did so by implication; Steinschneider and Sacerdote by explicit statement.

The Bet ha-Midrash manuscript contains two colophons, one at the end of Book I which reads: נשלם המאמר הראשון מן ההווייה; וההפסד לאריסטוטלים; the other at the very end of the manuscript which reads: נשלם המאמר מספר אריסטוטלים בהווייה ובהפסד תורה לאל. העתקת ורחיה בן יצחק ב(י)ן חנין זכרון צדיק לברכה. Neither of these makes any mention of Averroes; both definitely ascribe the work to Aristotle. Neubauer should have questioned the validity of his own description in view of the contradicting evidence offered by these same colophons.

The conclusion drawn from the title and colophons of the Bet ha-Midrash manuscript is at once corroborated by a close examination of the text and by collation with the Greek text of Aristotle. We may, therefore, affirm that the Bet ha-Midrash manuscript is actually a Hebrew translation of the text of Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione* made by Zerahiah ben Isaac from the Arabic translation of that text which Ishak ibn Honein made from the Syriac (Cf. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Leipzig, 1889-93, p. 57). From the same Arabic a Latin version was made by Gerard of Cremona in the last quarter of the twelfth century (Cf. M. Grabmann, *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Münster i. W., 1916, pp. 177-78). This version is at present known to be extant in only two manuscript copies: Bib. Roy., anc. Fonds, MS. lat. 6506; and Cod. lat. 2318, Hofbibliothek zu Wien (Cf. A. Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, Paris, 1843, p. 168; M. Grabmann, *op. cit.* p. 177. Jourdain knew only the first of the two copies). The Arabic underlying both the Latin and the Hebrew versions is not extant. A Graeco-Latin version of the *De Generatione et Corruptione* was known already in the early years of the thirteenth century (Cf. Grabmann, *op. cit.*, p. 178). In the literal Graeco-Latin translations of Aristotle some scholars, e. g. Rose, Sussemihl, and Grabmann, see a valuable source of information concerning

the text of Aristotle, since these versions go back to Greek originals which antedate the Greek texts now available. The same may be said of the Arabico-Latin and Arabico-Hebrew versions which go back to even earlier texts, though in their case the transmission has been indirect. The Scholastics who made use of the *De Generatione et Corruptione*—among them William of Auvergne (d. 1248), Vincent de Beauvais (d. circa 1265), Albertus Magnus (1193–1280), and Thomas Aquinas (1225–74)—apparently knew only the Graeco-Latin version.

The Zerahiah translation, together with the corresponding Latin, thus represents an independent version of Aristotle and may constitute new and valuable evidence for the history of the text and interpretation of Aristotle. A critical edition of these two versions, the Hebrew and the Latin, following the method adopted for use in the publication of the Averroes corpus (Cf. H. A. Wolfson, "Plan for the Publication of a *Corpus Commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem*" in *Speculum*, VI, 1931, pp. 412–427) would therefore be highly desirable. I plan to prepare such an edition which, in accordance with Professor Wolfson's plan, is to contain three apparatuses designated respectively as A, B, and C, as well as a glossary of the corresponding Greek, Hebrew, and Latin terms. Apparatus A will set forth the variant readings of the various manuscripts of each text. Apparatus B will show the relation between the texts of the two versions. Apparatus C will show the relation of each version to the original Greek. These apparatuses as well as the glossary can be supplemented, wherever necessary, by material drawn from the Aristotelian passages in Averroes' commentaries on the *De Generatione et Corruptione* which are extant in the original Arabic as well as in Hebrew and Latin translations.

The importance of the Hebrew and Latin versions of the *De Generatione et Corruptione* for the study of the Aristotelian text may be illustrated by a number of examples. These examples show the existence of early Greek manuscripts which contained readings that are now preserved in only isolated manuscripts of Aristotle or that are not preserved in any of the manuscripts now extant. In some instances these readings anticipate con-

jectural emendations in the text made by modern editors. The following are some examples:

(1) The Greek in 314a19 reads: *οἶον ὅστουν σάρκα μυελόν*, "viz. bone, flesh, and marrow."

The Hebrew: *כמו העצם והבשר והמוח והעצים*.

The Latin: "sicut caro os medulla et nervus."

The Hebrew, it will be noticed, contains the same three terms as the Greek with an additional fourth term, viz. *והעצים*. The Latin likewise contains the same three terms as the Greek in a slightly different order and also adds a fourth term, viz. "nervus."

The presence of the additional term in the Hebrew may be explained as a reflection of a reading in one of the Greek manuscripts (Codex Vaticanus 1027) which is recorded by Bekker and Joachim in the apparatus to their respective editions of the Greek text and which reads as follows: *οἶον ὅστουν σάρκα μυελόν καὶ ξύλον*.

The additional term in the Latin, though it does not occur in any extant Greek manuscript, may still be regarded as a reflection of a reading in an early Greek manuscript which undoubtedly underlay Philoponus' reference to this passage in his commentary, which reads as follows: *σαρκὸς γὰρ τὸ μέρος σάρξ καὶ ὅστουν καὶ νεώρου πάλιν ὁμοίως*.

The difference in reading between the Latin and the Hebrew versions may be due to a difference in reading in their underlying Arabic manuscripts, which in turn may be traced to variants in the Greek manuscripts underlying the Arabic.

(2) In 315a27–28 the reading of the Greek text in Joachim is: *καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας κινήσεις*; in Bekker and Prantl it is: *καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπλῶν κινήσεων*; in the apparatus of Joachim's text the following two variants are given: a) *καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπλᾶς κινήσεις*, b) *καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κινήσεων*.

The Hebrew reads: *ובשאר התנועות הפשוטות* and is thus in agreement with the readings given by Bekker and Prantl and with the first of the two variants recorded by Joachim.

(3) In 316a21–22 the Greek text in Bekker reads: *ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἂν εἰς μυρία μυριάκισ διηρημένα ᾗ, οὐδὲν ἀδύνατον*. Joachim conjecturally emends the text by substituting the



word *διαιρεθῆ* for the word *ῆ*, and translates: "nothing impossible will have resulted if it has actually been divided—not even if it has been divided into innumerable parts themselves divided innumerable times."

The Hebrew reads: כי הוא אלו היה שנתחלק בהתחלק חלקים שאין מספר לריבוי פעמים לא יספרו ריבוי ואחרי כן לא יתחייב מזה שקר. Joachim's conjectural emendation is thus corroborated by the reading reflected in the Hebrew version.

(4) In 320b1–2 the Greek text in Bekker reads: *ἡ οὐδένα καθέξει τόπον, ἡ οἶον στιγμὴ τις ἢ κενόν ἔσται ἢ σῶμα οὐκ αἰσθητόν*. "Either (a) it will occupy no place, or (b) it will be like a point or a void, or (c) it will be an insensible body."

Philoponus in his commentary to this passage argues that the clause *ἡ οἶον στιγμὴ* is rendered obscure by the particle *ἡ*, and suggests that it be emended to read: *ἀλλ' οἶον στιγμὴ*. According to him, then, the passage would read: "Either (a) it will occupy no place but will be like a point or a void, or (b) it will be an insensible body."

It will be noticed that Bekker's text offers three ways of conceiving the subject under discussion, viz. the supposed incorporeal sizeless matter out of which the process of growth takes place. Philoponus, on the other hand, reconstructs the passage to allow only two alternative ways of conceiving the same matter. Alexander of Aphrodisias as quoted by Philoponus presupposes a reading similar to that suggested by Philoponus.

Joachim's text differs in reading from Bekker's in two instances. Joachim (1) conjecturally deletes the word *ἡ* before *οἶον*; and (2) adopts the manuscript reading *καὶ σῶμα οὐκ αἰσθητόν* rather than the reading *ἡ σῶμα οὐκ αἰσθητόν* which Bekker adopted. His text would, therefore, read: "Either (a) it will occupy no place (as if it were a point), or (b) it will be a void, i. e. an insensible body."

The Hebrew reads: אם שלא יהיה מטריד מקום כלל ויהיה כמו נקודה או ריקות או שיהיה גשם בלתי מורגש. "Either (a) it will occupy no place but will be like a point or a void, or (b) it will be an insensible body." The Hebrew thus offers evidence of a reading

corroborating the interpretation of the passage given by Alexander and Philoponus which corroborates the conjectural deletion made by Joachim.

(5) In 327a6 the Greek reads: τὸ δὲ τῇ μὲν οἴεσθαι πάσχειν τῇ δὲ μὴ.

The Hebrew reads: ואמנם המחשבה הדבר יהיה נפעל בקצתו ואינו נפעל בקצת וזה שגגה.

Joachim argues that the Greek text is incomplete. He writes: "I have . . . ventured to mark a lacuna before διορίσαντας (i. e. after μὴ) and to interpret the passage as follows:—'The supposition of partial susceptibility is possible only for those who hold an erroneous view concerning the divisibility of magnitudes . . .'" His argument is corroborated by the Hebrew, since the words שגגה וזה appear at that point in the text where he marks the lacuna and imply, though they do not explicitly state, his interpretation of the passage.

(6) In 332a31–32 one Greek manuscript reads: καὶ ὅτι δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ταχέως ἄλλο ἐξ ἄλλου εἴρηται πρότερον, "and it has been said above that they do not change one out of another with uniform speed," whereas all the other manuscripts omit the καὶ at the beginning of the quotation.

Joachim argues for the retention of the καὶ and suggests the deletion of εἴρηται πρότερον on the ground of its being "clumsy and unnecessary."

The Hebrew version reads: ואמרנו כמו כן שלא ישתנה האחד מהם אל האחר במהירות שזה. The ו in ואמרנו quite obviously reproduces the καὶ retained by Joachim. The כמו כן most probably reproduces the εἴρηται πρότερον which, although found in all the Greek manuscripts, is deleted by Joachim.

## MISUNDERSTOOD CHRONOLOGICAL STATEMENTS IN THE TALMUDIC LITERATURE

JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH

There are scattered throughout the talmudic literature statements, by Tannaim and Amoraim, about the chronology of the period of the second Temple, about its duration as a whole and about the length of time which each one of the various dynasties, or the successive governments, domestic or foreign, ruled over Palestine during that period. Some of these statements are not quite clear and definite in their meaning. Others can hardly be harmonized with established historic data known to us from other sources. And if all these diverse statements are considered as parts of one congruous report about the chronology of the second Temple, they present great difficulties and even show contradictions among themselves. If, however, the older statements, or the dicta of the Tannaim, are considered separately and distinguished from the later comments, or the sayings of the Amoraim, one finds that each one of the tannaitic statements, considered by itself and independently of the interpretation put on it by the Amoraim, is historically correct and fairly accurate, while the amoraic sayings are but the result of misunderstandings of the tannaitic statements on the part of the Amoraim. And one might even find the cause of these misunderstandings and how the Amoraim came to make the mistakes which they made in interpreting the older documents of the tannaitic reports. Let us begin with the main difficulty presented in the talmudic chronology of the second Temple.

It may be safely assumed, though it is nowhere in the Talmud expressly stated, that the Rabbis of the Talmud unquestionably believed in and accepted as correct the report in the book of Ezra VI, 15, according to which the second Temple was built, or completed, in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes. The beginning of the period of the second Temple, then, was in the year

516 B.C.E.<sup>1</sup> The end of that period according to the Talmud coincides with the destruction of the Temple by Titus which, according to the Talmud (Abodah Zarah 9b), took place in the year 3828 of creation,<sup>2</sup> that is in the year 68 of the common era.<sup>3</sup> According to these data the period of the existence of the second Temple extended from 516 B.C.E. to 68 C.E. and comprised a total of five hundred and eighty four years. But in another passage in the Talmud (Yoma 9b) it is expressly stated that the second Temple lasted only for four hundred and twenty years. A saying of R. Joḥanan is quoted there in which the second Temple is referred to as having stood four hundred and twenty years<sup>4</sup> מקדש שני שעמד ארבע מאות ועשרים שנה. This statement by R. Joḥanan seems to be based upon or to have been derived from a Baraita in Seder Olam<sup>5</sup> which reads as follows: ר' יוסי אומר מלכות פרס בפני הבית שלשים וארבעה שנה. מלכות יון מאה ושמונים. מלכות בית חשמונאי מאה ושלושה. מלכות הורדוס מאה ושלושה. R. Joḥanan seems to have understood this Baraita as meaning to give a congruous report about the duration of the second Temple, to account for all the years of its existence and to distribute the number of its years among the various governments or Kingdoms which successively ruled over Palestine during that period. By summing up all the four items mentioned in the Baraita he arrived at the total of four hundred and twenty years, which, according to his understanding of the Baraita, were all the years of the existence of the second Temple.<sup>6</sup> But if thus understood, the Baraita

<sup>1</sup> See Jewish Encyclopedia XII, p. 97. We are concerned here merely with the question when, according to the Talmud, accepting the report in Ezra VI, 15, the Temple was built.

<sup>2</sup> For according to the Talmud there 400 after the destruction was 4228 after creation. See Rashi *ibid.* 9a s.v. *כי מעינת מאה הנפש*; also Seder Olam Zuta ed. Grossberg (London 1910) p. 32 and comp. H. J. Bornstein חאריכי ישראל in *Hatekufah* IX (1921) p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Comp., however, Bornstein l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the Gemara, Arakin 12b, takes it for granted that the second Temple stood only 420 years *מכדי בית שני כמה קם ארבע מאה ועשרים*.

<sup>5</sup> Ch. XXX, ed. Ber Ratner (Wilna 1897) pp. 141-142.

<sup>6</sup> On R. Joḥanan's acquaintance with and relation to the Seder Olam see Ber Ratner, *Einleitung Zum Seder Olam* (Wilna 1894) chapter V, especially pp. 53-54.

would present a false chronology, and its statements both about the duration of the Persian rule in Palestine and about the years of the existence of the second Temple would be in conflict with established historic facts.<sup>7</sup> It would reduce the period of the Persian rule over Palestine during the time of the second Temple, which, extending from 516, when the Temple was completed, to 330, when the Persian Empire was overthrown by Alexander, comprised one hundred and eighty six years, to the comparatively short period of thirty four years. It would also reduce the years of the second Temple which, as we have seen, according to the Talmud numbered five hundred and eighty four years to but four hundred and twenty years.

It should be noticed, however, that R. Jose does not say, nor even indicate in any way, that he means to account for all the years of the second Temple. He does not summarize the various items of the Baraita by a statement to the effect that "the second Temple stood four hundred and twenty years," as made by R. Johanan. To understand the Baraita as R. Johanan did, would mean to impute to R. Jose, the reputed author of the *Seder Olam*, the outstanding Jewish historian of his time, gross ignorance of historical facts and inaccuracy in computing chronological data. This we have no right to do especially when it is possible so to interpret his statements as to bring them into harmony with other historical reports. Such an interpretation of the Baraita, I propose to give. I maintain that the various items of the Baraita were not meant by its author to constitute one whole complete and congruous report about the period of the second Temple. R. Jose merely puts down, or assembles, in this Baraita, sundry items or chronological data about the various governments, each one complete in itself and not connected with nor dependent upon the other. Considered separately and understood correctly and independently of later interpretations, each

<sup>7</sup> On the difficulties presented by such an understanding of the Baraita see Ratner's notes ad loc. and R. Azariah de Rossi in מאור עינים chs. 36-38 (Warsaw 1899) pp. 269-282. Comp. also Hayyim Hirschensohn in ספר ימים מקדם (Jerusalem 1908) pp. 226-228 who assumes that the text of the Baraita is not correct and that it was corrupted by mistakes of copyists already as early as the time of the Tannaim.



one of these statements is fairly accurate and historically correct and presents no difficulty whatever. Thus the fourth and third items, referring to the governments of the Herodians and the Hasmoneans, giving to each a duration of one hundred and three years, are fairly correct.<sup>8</sup> The second statement, that is, the one about the duration of the Greek rule over Israel is also correct. It probably considers Ptolemy's invasion of Jerusalem in the year 320 B.C.E. as the beginning, and the recognition of the independence of the Jewish state by the Roman Senate in the year 139, as the end of the Greek rule over Palestine which accordingly lasted for one hundred and eighty years.

The first item of the Baraita referring to the Persian Kingdom is also historically accurate but we must understand it correctly. It does not mean to account for the years of the Persian rule over Palestine, but only for the years of the Persian Empire prior to the building of the Temple in Jerusalem. The expression **בפני הבית** here is used in the sense of **לפני הבית**—if indeed **בפני** is not a copyist's mistake for **לפני**. The Persian Empire began with Cyrus' conquest of Babylon in the year 549. In the year 516, i. e., thirty four years later, the Temple, according to the report in Ezra VI, 15, accepted by the Talmud, was built. Hence the Persian Empire existed thirty four years before the Temple was built. This item of our Baraita originally was but a part of a larger statement containing the account of the years of the Persian Empire prior to the building of the Temple together with an account of all the years of the Persian Empire which from 549 when it was founded by Cyrus to 330 when it was overthrown by Alexander lasted 220 years. This other account has been preserved in the same chapter of the Seder Olam in the statement: "All the years of the kings of Media and Persia totaled two hundred and twenty" **כל שני מלכי מדי ופרס ר"ך שנה**. Only **ר"ך** or **ר"ב** was corrupted into **ר"ן** or **ר"ג**, found in our editions.<sup>9</sup> This

<sup>8</sup> The Hasmonean rule is counted from the year 142 B.C.E., in which Simon was proclaimed prince and ruler, to the year 38 when Herod was made king, and the Herodian rule is counted from 38 B.C.E. to 68 C.E. the year of the destruction of the Temple.

<sup>9</sup> Ratner, p. 69a. Ratner *ibid.* note 15 assumes that **ר"ן** is a mistake for **ר"ב**. But **ר"ב** could not so easily be mistaken for **ר"ן**, as could **ר"ך**.

statement originally formed part of our Baraita, being the supplement, or the second half of the first item embodied in it. Since, however, the other three items in our Baraita, the statements about the years of the other governments, referred to the duration of their respective rule over Palestine during the period of the second Temple, the first item, containing an account of the years of the Persian government, was misunderstood as likewise referring to the rule of that government over Palestine during the time of the second Temple.<sup>10</sup> The second part of the statement about the Persian Empire was then considered out of place in our Baraita, and as interrupting the continuity of a supposedly intended account of all the years of the period of the second Temple, as distributed among the various governments that successively ruled over Palestine during that period. The statement then was taken out of its original context and placed next to the mention of the names of the Kings of Media and Persia, about twenty four lines above our Baraita.

Thus the statement about the Persian Empire, the first item in our Baraita, was misunderstood because it was mentioned in the Baraita together with three other statements and taken to be of the same class as the latter. The same fate befell the second item of our Baraita, the statement about the Greek government. When cited in the Talmud together with two other chronological statements it was taken to be of the same class as the latter and its meaning completely misunderstood.

Thus R. Ishmael, the son of the author of our Baraita, R. Jose, when asked by the Rabbis to transmit to them a few sayings of his father, mentioned to them three statements made by his father. He said: *כך אמר אבא מאה ושמונים שנה עד שלא חרב הבית פשטה המלכות על ישראל. שמונים שנה עד שלא חרב הבית גורו טומאה על ארץ העמים ועל כלי זכוכית. ארבעים שנה עד שלא חרב הבית גלתה לה סנהדרין* (Sabbath 15a and Abodah Zarah 8b). The

<sup>10</sup> This misunderstanding may have prompted a copyist to change לפני into בפני, if it is not to be assumed rather that בפני was originally used in the sense of לפני.

first of these three sayings refers to the Greek government.<sup>11</sup> The expression *עד שלא חרב הבית* here means during the time when the Temple was not yet destroyed, or "during the existence of the Temple," and the expression *פשטה* means, was spread, extended, or lasted. This saying does not mean to give the time of the beginning of the Greek government over Israel, when it first got control of or began to rule over Judea, but the length of time during which it ruled, how long it lasted. It simply says: "The Greek rule over Israel during the period of the existence of the second Temple lasted, or continued, for a hundred and eighty years." And it is absolutely identical with the second item of our Baraita in Seder Olam which reads: "The Greek government lasted a hundred and eighty years"<sup>12</sup> *מלכות יון מאה ושמונים*.

The other two sayings refer to events which happened at specific times, or in certain years preceding the destruction of the Temple. There the expression *עד שלא חרב הבית* is to be taken in the sense of, before the destruction took place. Eighty years preceding the destruction of the Temple the uncleanness of the foreign lands was decreed, and forty years before the destruction the Sanhedrin was exiled or removed from its regular meeting place. Since these last two sayings cited by R. Ishmael

<sup>11</sup> Rashi in his commentary to Sabbath ad loc. s.v. *המלכות* expressly says that it refers to the Greek Government *מלכות יון*. In Ab. Zarah, however, where the Gemara itself already understood the statement cited by R. Ishmael as referring to the Roman government, Rashi following the Gemara interprets *מלכות* to mean *רומי* (see below note 13). Such contradictions in Rashi's interpretation of one and the same passage found in different tractates are not infrequent. See Weiss, Dor. IV (Wilna 1904) p. 290. The reading *רומי* instead of *יון* in Rashi to Sabbath, as found in some older editions (see Rabinovicz *דקדוקי סופרים* ad loc.) is probably a later correction on the part of an editor or copyist who wished to remove the contradiction between the interpretation given in Sabbath and the one given in Abodah Aarah.

<sup>12</sup> R. Wolf Einhorn, in his commentary to Midrash Rabbah פירוש מהרז"ו (Levit. r. 29, 2), correctly recognized the identity of the statement cited in Sabbath with the one in Seder Olam. The difficulty experienced by him in the expression *עד שלא חרב הבית* is removed by our understanding of this expression to mean "during the existence of the Temple" and not "before the year of the destruction."

clearly give the dates of events which took place in specific years preceding the destruction, the first saying, the statement about the foreign government, mentioned by R. Ishmael together with these two, was taken by some Rabbis of the Talmud to be like them and to point to an event which took place a certain definite time preceding the destruction.<sup>13</sup> It was then misunderstood to mean to say: In the year 180 before the destruction of the Temple the foreign government for the first time extended its power, or began to rule over Israel. Thus understood the statement could no longer be taken to refer to the Greek government which in the year 180 before the destruction no longer existed. It was, therefore, taken to refer to the beginning of the Roman government. Some of the Rabbis, however, saw the beginning of the Roman rule in the recognition of the independence of the Jewish state by the Roman Senate in the year 139 B.C.E. which was about two hundred and six years before the destruction of the Temple put by the Talmud in the year 3828 of creation, or 68 C.E. This act of recognition whereby Rome spread its protecting wings over Israel was correctly appraised as being the very beginning of the Roman government over Israel, for Roman friendship potentially meant Roman control and Roman rule. There was accordingly some difficulty experienced in making R. Ishmael's saying refer to the beginning of the Roman rule. There was a discrepancy of about twenty six years. For Rome's declaration of friendship for Israel which coincided with the end of the Greek rule over Judea took place about two hundred and six years before the destruction, while the saying cited by R. Ishmael puts the beginning of the Roman rule at one hundred and eighty years preceding the destruction. This difficulty the Gemara (Abodah Zarah 8b-9a) solves by citing a legendary report, which R. Dimi is supposed to have heard in Palestine according to which the Romans kept their faith with Israel for a period of twenty six years. During these twenty six years they treated Israel as an

<sup>13</sup> So at any rate it was understood by the Gemara in Abodah Zarah, l. c., hence Rashi there following the Gemara also interprets מלכות to mean מלכות רומי. See above note 11.

equal in accordance with the terms of the declaration of friendship made in the year 139. But after these twenty six years of true friendship, that is in the year 180 preceding the destruction, they began to oppress Israel, treating them as a conquered people. The saying cited by R. Ishmael, putting the beginning of the Roman rule in the one hundred and eightieth year before the destruction, so the Gemara concludes, has reference to the actual rule and oppression by the Romans which began in that year, twenty six years after its potential beginning in the pact of friendship entered into with Israel, or the act of recognition of the independence of the Jewish State by the Roman Senate in the year 139 B.C.E.



## STUDIES IN THE CHRONICLE OF AḤİMAAZ

JOSEPH MARCUS

### I. Silano, the Payyetan

The Genizah, which has resuscitated many an ancient and forgotten poet, has now breathed life into the shadowy form of a great ninth century Payyetan, Rabbi Silano, a contemporary of Amitai (the First) and Shephatiah ben Amitai. Mentioned en passant by Aḥimaaz ben Paltiel of Oria in his celebrated Chronicle *Sefer Yuḥasin*, composed in rimed prose in 1054, Silano would have remained a name, his very existence being doubted,<sup>1</sup> had not that very poem mentioned by Aḥimaaz as playing the rôle of reconciler between Silano and the Jerusalem Rabbis who had excommunicated him, turned up, well-preserved on parchment, as part of the service of the Day of Atonement!<sup>2</sup>

In his Book of Genealogies ספר יוחסין<sup>3</sup> Aḥimaaz laboriously gathered and recorded the history of his illustrious ancestors over a period of eight generations or 200 years. Among them were the Payyetanim Amitai, Shephatiah, Amitai ben Shephatiah and Ḥananel, heads of Academies, men holding high administrative positions in the state, even a vizier, Paltiel, who was at the same time Nagid of Egyptian Jewry.<sup>4</sup> Digressing from the story of his family, Aḥimaaz devotes considerable space to an

<sup>1</sup> E, se vogliamo credere ad Achimaaz, quando, in quel medesimo secolo IX, viveva a Venosa il rabbino Silano, poeta insigne e conoscitore valente di ebraico, vi capitò un dotto correligionario di Palestina, che si trattenne abbastanza per spiegare nella sinagoga il Midrasch in ebraico, e poi un pio uomo del l'Italia meridionale, reduce da un pellegrinaggio nella Terra d'Israele. (N. Ferorelli, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia meridionale*, Torino 1915, p. 30).

<sup>2</sup> "Das 'anfangende Gedicht ist für uns vorläufig verloren.'" (Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, p. 13 note 2).

<sup>3</sup> *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, ed. Ad. Neubauer, Oxford 1895, II, pp. 111-32.

<sup>4</sup> A. Marx, in *J.Q.R. (N. S.)* I, pp. 78-85; J. Mann, *J.Q.R. (N. S.)* XI, p. 429.

episode in the days of Basileos I, Emperor of Byzantium (867–886), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty. An emissary of the Jerusalem Academy arrived in Venosa to collect funds for the Academy.<sup>5</sup> He remained there for some time, having been asked to read and interpret the Midrash at the Sabbath services, while the local Rabbi, Silano, an eminent scholar and leading poet, acted as Meturgeman, rendering into the vernacular the foreigner's Hebrew-Aramaic dialect. Rabbi Silano did not apparently relish playing second fiddle to a Meshullah, and sought an opportunity to discredit him. Soon the opportunity presented itself. On a market day a fight broke out in town, the women joined the fray and beat up the men with broomsticks and other kitchen implements. Silano took the Synagogue copy of the Midrash, scratched out two lines of the following Sabbath's portion, and wrote in their stead: **באו האנשים בקרון, ותצאנה הנשים** **מפורן, והכו האנשים בפורקן** "The men came in wagons; the women came out of their kitchens, and beat the men with their fire-forks."<sup>6</sup> On the following Sabbath the unsuspecting Meshullah read the Midrash, and, coming to these words, he paused, perplexed, then continued to read them. Thereupon Silano rose and mockingly interpreted these words to the congregation: "Listen to the discourse of the master on the quarrel that occurred among you yesterday, when the women beat the men with oven staves and drove them off on every hand."

Embarrassed and incensed, the emissary returned to Jerusalem and related the insult he had experienced to the scholars of the Academy. As a result Rabbi Silano was put under ban.

Now a certain learned and pious man, Ahimaaz (the Elder), went up to Jerusalem on pilgrimage, and, as was his custom, brought donations for the institutions of the Holy City. During the Ten Days of Penitence he was asked to lead the service at the Academy. With the freedom that the cantor enjoyed from time immemorial to recite piyyutim which he himself had com-

<sup>5</sup> J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, I, pp. 55–57.

<sup>6</sup> My teacher, Prof. Louis Ginzberg, called my attention to the Italian 'forca' or the Latin 'furca' here used by Silano, with the Hebrew termination.



This penitential hymn has now turned up in the Genizah collection, at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.<sup>10</sup> It is an Alphabetic elegiac poem, (reaching to the letter ק) in Kaliric style, each line composed of four riming stiches.<sup>11</sup> Its theme is similar to that of the contemporary Selihot: Lamentation over the Destruction, the departed glory, the persecution and suffering of the Jewish communities during the oppressive reign of Basileos the Macedonian.<sup>12</sup> Thus the interesting episode chronicled by Aḥimaaz is verified and Silano takes a preeminent place as one of the earliest liturgical poets in Italy.

Ms. Adler 1208 Verso

אֵלֶּה וְכַחַשׁ. וְרָצוֹחַ וְנַחַשׁ. וְגָנוּב וְלַחַשׁ. כָּבֵט אֶל רִיחַשׁ  
 בְּשָׁרֵינוּ שִׁית לְרָצוֹן. וְאוֹתֵינוּ לְבִיזוֹן. וְגַם לְלִיזוֹן. גֵּיא חִיזוֹן  
 גִּלְגֻּלוֹנוּ הִנְהָרוֹת. וְסִיפָחוֹנוּ הִבְהָרוֹת. וְעַד מָה בְּמִנְהָרוֹת. אֵין מִי  
 קְהוֹרוֹת  
 דְּיוֹמָם יִשְׁבְּנוּ. וּכְדָוָה נַחֲשָׁבְנוּ. סוּרוּ סוּרוּ קִשְׁבְּנוּ. וְעָדִיד לא שְׁבְנוּ  
 הָיִינוּ לְפָנִים. כְּשֶׁר הִפָּנִים. יוֹשְׁבִים דְּפוּגִים. לִיפְנֵי לְפָנִים חֲטָא<sup>5</sup>  
 יַעֲמָה מְבוֹשֶׁת צָפִיוֹן. לֹא נוֹבֵל נְשׂוּא הִפְיוֹן. כִּי בִדְפִיוֹן. עִיבְכָנוּ פְדִיוֹן  
 יָכוּ קְדָמוֹנִים. וְנָחֲלוּ מְטָמוֹנִים. גָּרְמוּ חֲמָנִים. וְנִהְרָסוּ אֲרָמוֹנִים

<sup>10</sup> Ms. Adler 1208, parchment; 15½x13 cm., sq. large letters, several words vocalized.

<sup>11</sup> Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie* p. 86: Bereits im neunten, vielleicht schon im achten Jahrhundert, wurden viele gereimte Selichas geschrieben, in welchen jede Strophe oder Abtheilung vier Zeilen mit gleichem Reim, jede zu 4 oder 5 Worten enthält.

<sup>12</sup> J.Q.R. IV (1892) p. 614 (from a Ms. of the library of Baron H. Günzburg): זה הפזמון [ישראל נושע] והסליחה שאחריו אני יום אירא וכול' מצאה' שיסד אותם רבי שפתיא בגזירת בסיליאו הרשע שגור שמד בכל ארץ יון והכריח יותר מאלף קהלות לשעותם ולא נשאר בכל ארץ יון מדינה ומדינה עיר ועיר שלא פיתה אותם מבחר השירה העברית באיטליה in אהבתיך אהבה כלולה ed. Jefim Schirmann, p. 4:

פּוֹשַׁע עוֹ פָּנִים, כְּהוֹמֶלֶךְ עַל הַגּוֹנִים  
 צוֹה לְהַפְרִיד נְבוֹנִים, מֵאַמְתָּת יִקְרָה מִפְּנִינִים  
 קָנָא לְטַמְאָת זִקְנִים, וְגַם לְהַעֲרֵל קִטְנִים  
 רָצַף שְׁלוֹשׁ אֲדוֹנִים, בִּיחּוּד עֵדֶת אֲמוֹנִים.

חַי בְּכֵן בָּהֶם. וַיִּפַּח בְּיַד נְבִיאֵיהֶם. כִּי גַם אוֹי לָהֶם. בְּסוּרֵי מֶהֱם  
 טָס וַיֵּדָא. שְׂכִינָה דָּדָא. וּמִצְפּוֹן טָדָה. בָּאת חֶרֶב רוּדָה <sup>חטא</sup>  
 יָלָלָה יְרוּשָׁלַיִם. כִּי לָקַת בְּכַפְלִים. וְגַם אֲנִי כִילָלַת אֲנָלִים. בְּכַפְלֵי <sup>10</sup>  
 כַּפְלֵי כַפּוּלִים  
 בְּכוּחֵי אֲזָ בְּצוּעָן. לֹא כֵן בְּזָה לַעֲזָן. כִּי אִם בְּנוּחַ אִם בְּטַעֲזָן. בְּכוּחוֹ  
 נִעַר יִשְׁעָן  
 לִידַע כִּי לֹא יוֹכַל שְׂאֵת. זָקֵן בְּנִעַר מִשְׂאֵת. לָכֵן נִמְתִּי עַל שְׂאֵת.  
 נִזְקַנְתִּי גְלוּת שְׂאֵת  
 מִעֲזָת מִתּוֹקֵן. נִמְתָּה דַת לָהֶקֶן. וְנִחְרַת בָּהּ בְּתוֹקֵן. וְהִדְרַת פְּנֵי זָקֵן  
 נִזְקַנְתִּי הִדְרִינִי. שְׂבִיתִי יִקְרִינִי. אֵל בְּנִעַר תִּסְרֶנִּי. פֶּן בְּבוּשַׁת  
 תַּחֲפִירִינִי  
 סָכַם יָמֵי שְׁנוֹתֵינוּ. שְׂבָעִים כְּדֵי לְנַפְשׁוֹתֵינוּ. וְאִם בְּרִשְׁיוֹנוֹתֵינוּ. <sup>15</sup>  
 מִשְׁמוֹנִים בְּלֵי לְשְׁנוֹתֵינוּ  
 עֲבוּר שְׂבָעִים שְׂבָע מֵאוֹת. וְעַל שְׁמוֹנִים יִתָּר מִתְּשַׁע מֵאוֹת. וְכָלֶם  
 עָמַל וְתֵלֵאוֹת. כִּי גַז חִישׁ וְאִין אוֹת  
 פּוֹנִים בְּכָל עֵין. וּמוֹשִׁיעַ אֵין. תִּמּוֹר כִּי טְהוֹר עֵין. הִימָרְנוּ לְאֵין.  
 צָרוֹת מִצָּרוֹת. זֶה מִזֶּה מְצִירוֹת. וְהִנֵּנוּ בַּעֲבִירוֹת. כְּמִתִּים בְּקָבְרוֹת <sup>חטא</sup>  
 קָרָאתָ <sup>19</sup>

## NOTES TO HEBREW POEM

1. Cf. Hosea 4, 2; כבש = ריחש; He thought.
2. נִיא חוּיוֹן (Prov. 4, 24) לֹוֹת שְׁפָתִים; לֹוֹה from לֹוִין; רֹוִין = רוּה from רוּוִין; Jerusalem, Isa. 22, 1.
3. מִנְהָרוֹת Jud. 6, 2; cf. Lev. 13, 2, Isa. 3, 17; וּסִיפָחוּנוּ הִבְהָרוֹת.
4. Lam. 4, 15.
5. In margin דְּפּוֹנִים; לְ with two dots on the פִּינִים reads דְּפּוֹנִים; cf. Kelim 2, 3; וְחִבִּית דְּפּוֹנָה.
6. is it possible that (Gen. 46, 16) צִפִּיּוֹן (ובני גר צפיון) cf. piyyut מִי יִתְנֶה דְּפִיּוֹן? פִּינִים is meant here? cf. (Millon) לִכְבֶּסֶם מִצָּחַ דְּפִיּוֹנִים.
7. (בשורי) Hosea 9, 12; בְּסוּרֵי; הוֹכִיחַ = וִיכַח.
8. אחי מלבנון. He moved, cf. דָּדָא וְטָס וְעָדָן שָׁנָה: אחית עת Kalir cf. טָס וִידָא (Millon). (Text reads שְׂכִינָה לְדָדָא two dots) בּוֹכְרִי עֵינֵי וּמְרוּדֵי דְּרוּי אֶהֱבֵת חֶסֶד



- on the ל, a daggesh in the first טרה Middoth 1, 3: northern gate of the Temple; רודה Isa. 14, 6, "the sword of the trampler." For the Mishnaic form בָּאָתָהּ and לָקָתָהּ (line 10) for the third fem. sing. see M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxford 1927, sect. 198 and 204.
10. Cf. Isa. 40, 2 (Text reads לָקָתָהּ כִּי, two dots on the ה); *ib.* 15, 8; אָנִי from אָנִי mourning; however we may read אָנִי.
11. טורדו בנלול אח לירד: אל מחוללם. לענה = לען; Egypt; צוען. "for whether at ease or burdened, a youth leans on his own strength." (Millon); בצוען, שם נואלו שריו וישקום לען.
12. משא = משא, burden; על שאח Lam. 3, 47 desolation.
13. Cf. Eccl. 1, 15, the meaning is not clear; Lev. 19, 32.
14. Cf. Isa. 54, 4.
15. ומצא טעותו שסכם בקצבתו: He numbered, cf. Neubauer p. 120: מנילח יחסין; cf. Ps. 90, 10.
16. "For seventy, seven hundred, for eighty more than nine hundred." The original no doubt read: ועל שמונים שמונה מאות; a copyist a century later brought it up to date. Cf. מנלה אחימעץ p. 115 (bottom):  
ובאותו הזמן ובאותם הימים. מלך מלך על אדומים. איש עולה ומרמה בדמים . . .  
בשנת שמונה מאות שנים. לעיר הקודש למלאת הרבנים.

On the reverse side (recto) of this Ms. is found the end of a threefold Alphabetic penitential piyyut, having the refrain in לבדך ואהה חי. The second and third lines of each strophe begin with the last word of the preceding line. This piyyut is followed by the well-known Yom Kippur prayer. The last line חטאנו צורנו is the Petiḥah for our piyyut.

[ך] . . ימי אדם. צבא עלי ארץ. ורחמי רבים  
רבים רחמיך. מקרב רחוקים. ברחמים בלא רגו  
רגו כל תעיר. פני מתנתך כרגע. ואנתה חנין ל[בדך]  
שור נא בענינו. בעת כי נעמוד. לפניך שופט  
שופט הארץ. בכעס אל תריבנו. ברחמים שפטינו  
שפטינו בצדקך. כי מאד צדקתה. וא' ח' ל'  
תפילה תקח. תשובה תרצה. מחילה תרבה  
תרבה לעשות. צדקה בעדינו. אלוה תוחלתינו  
תוחלתינו אתה. לבד בך נזכירה. ואנתה חי לבדך

א' וא' א' סלח לעוונותנו ביום הזה מחה והעבר פשעינו מנגד עיניך וכוף את יצרינו להשתעבד  
לך. והכנע ערפינו לשוב אליך וחדש כליותינו לשמור פיקודיך. ומול את לבבינו ליראה את  
שמך. ככ' ומל יי את וגו'. הודונו והשגות אתה מכיר הרציו והאונס הסתורים והגלויים לפניך  
ליום. מה אנו מה חיינו וגו' עד כי הכל הבל. הלא כל הנסתרות אתה יודיע. אתה יודיע וגו' עד  
הנס וגו' ודוד עבדך אמר לפניך. שניאות מי יבין מנ' נק'. נקינו יי אל' מ' פ' וטהרינו מכל ט'  
זרק עלינו מים טהורים ככ' ורחמי עלי' עד אטהר א'.  
א' וא' א' תבוא לפניך תפילתינו ואל תתעלם מתחינתנו ש' א' עוי פנים וקשי עורף שנאמר  
לפניך צדיקים אנחנו ולא חטאנו אבל א' חט' וגו' עד ואנחנו הרשענו.  
חטאנונו צונרנו סלח לנונו יוצרנונו

To complete the picture of the poet, the only other known piyyut of Silano is here reprinted. The first strophe, included in the Neilah service, has become very popular; while the remainder, containing the acrostic, is printed only in two editions of סליחות (see Davidson, Thesaurus, Vol. I and IV, s. v. ליטא).

תַּעַל לְפָנַי כִּסֵּא כְבוֹדְךָ	אֶנְקֵת מִסְלָדֶיךָ
שׁוֹמֵעַ תְּפִלַּת בָּאֵי עֲדֶיךָ	מִלֵּא מִשְׁאֲלוֹת עַם מִיְּחֶדְךָ
עַל עֲנוּי וְעַל עֲוֹת מִשְׁפָּט	סִלְחָה מִבֵּא בְּמִשְׁפָּט
מִי יִצְדַּק לְפָנֶיךָ אֱלֹהֵי הַמִּשְׁפָּט	כִּי אִם לְפִי מִשְׁפָּט
תְּחַזְקֶנָּה בְּאֵז הָיֹת לָךְ אֲחוּיִם	יְדֵי עַם הַדְּחוּיִם
מֶה יִתְרוֹן שֶׁהֵם חַיִּים	כִּי אִם לְפִי רְאוּיִם
קִבְּלֵנִי בְּבִמְכָלֵל יוֹפִי	לָךְ בְּהִתְחַנְנִי בְּמוֹ פִי
הֵן אֲנִי שִׁמְתִּי יְדֵי לְמוֹ פִי	כִּי אִם לְפִי דּוֹפִי
וְלֹא תִשְׁלַם לָנוּ בְּמִפְעֵל	נֶאֱזָר כְּרֵב חֶסֶד עֲמֹנוּ תִפְעֵל
מִי יֹאמֶר וּבִיתִי לְבִי מִמַּעַל	כִּי אִם לְפִי פּוֹעֵל
שְׁעָה וּמִבֵּל זָמֶר	וְאִם הַמְרָנוּ אוֹמֶר
מֶה יַעֲשׂוּ שׁוֹכְנֵי בְּתֵי חוֹמֶר	כִּי אִם לְפִי מְמֶר
הַיּוֹם וּבְכָל יוֹם תַּעֲשׂ	בְּרַחֲמִים וְלֹא בְכַעַס
וְאֶנְחֶנּוּ לֹא נִדְעַ מֶה נַּעֲשׂ	כִּי אִם לְפִי מַעֲשׂ

## II. The Text of the Chronicle

The two quotations of the piyyut in Neubauer's edition of the Ahimaaz Chronicle זכר קדמונים and אלה וכחש ורצוח וכחש differing in reading from the text of the piyyut in the Genizah fragment led me to suspect that Neubauer may have erred in the transcription of the text of the Chronicle in these as well as in other places, despite the "personal assurance of Professor A. S. Yahuda, of Madrid, that the Neubauer edition is an accurate transcription of the original" (Saltzman, The Chronicle of Ahimaaz, Preface). Kaufmann had already expressed the regret that a monument of such antiquity and value of South

Italian literature was published without the addition of a facsimile of the unicum in the Cathedral Library of Toledo, No. 86/25. I am grateful to my teacher, Professor Alexander Marx, for placing at my disposal the photostat in the Seminary library\* as well as his own annotated copy of the ספר יוחסין in which he entered all the textual emendations suggested by Kaufmann, Bacher and Brody. I have carefully compared the Neubauer text with this photostat and found that my suspicion was justified, and that many of the suggested emendations are substantiated by the Ms. Other evident misreadings were, however, overlooked. I give here all the correct readings, adding in brackets my own suggestions, to fill the lacunae, based on the size of the gap in the original and on the riming scheme.

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(before line 1) האל (?) ימלא שאלתי ולא יחש [בכ]תבי ספר היחש. 7. אק[ר]ם ולא אהיה רורם. בדברי פי לקדם. 12. ועושה [נור]אות. 17. בתבונתו. 22. בירושלם ניגלים.

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3. בנהר פא . . . (about 10 letters missing) 5. וג[נ]ברו ושם. 6. בחורה [נבר]. 12. מניני. 19. [ימים]; [ואחר תשוב לארצך]. 20. [ואניות]; [אכנס]. 26. מר נפש.

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3. אי לך. 19. שמעוני. 26. ומירי.

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27. נכאב וגעכר. 28. וגועדי.

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15. עד (So in Ms.); והחיר לו. 19. עד בחינונים; ורצח ונחש. 20. בוכו.

\*The following description of the photostat, procured through the kindness of Prof. J. Millás in 1927, may be of interest. It contains the Chronicle which occupies fol. 9b–29a of the Ms. The size of the folio is 15x10 cm., of which 11½x7 cm. are covered by the writing. There are 24–25 lines to a page, in square Italian script of unknown date. A full description of the Ms. was given by Kayserling in the *REJ*, vol. XXV, p. 277 and vol. XLIV, pp. 300–01. Besides the Halakic works which are written in Italian rabbinic characters, mentioned by Kayserling, the Codex includes at the end the following: On fol. 50a: אמת ביר' שפטיה. נזכר בספר יוחסין, אדון מגיד מראשית אחרית: On fol. 50b: וזלה; או בהיות כלה גרה בניה גירות: The first has recently been published by Dr. Jefim Schirmann in *העברית* in *מבחר השירה העברית*, Berlin, 1934, p. 5. On fol. 54b–55a, in a diff. hand, is the piyyut: אלה אוכרה ונפשי עלי אשככה.

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17. במרי.

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26. לא יסריח ויבאיש.

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6. ונשקו בנשיקה. 11. ממאפליה. 12. ולזמר. 22. לקיים את כל.

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7. מעש ידך. 13. ובחשבון. 14. להענוגך. 16. עבדיו.

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8. ימחול לו. 13. מנייהם. 24. משרלחו.

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23. בהורותו חמימים; מהסגרת. 25. להועים (So in Ms.). 29. בהגונה.

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1. אל [ה]ינו. 22. ואימותיו. 28. ויקוננוהו.

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7. הרחו. 10. מלאכה שבת. 18. ושמו ר' פלטיאל. 22. כל ארץ.

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3. אם כן הוא כדברך. 5. ואל מעוז.

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18. מן הגיט. 22. ישיבתו שמה. 28. ואחרי כן.

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5. אל מעוז. 20. בכל אַנת. 24. כי און בעיני.

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8. דברי.

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24. ישבו באויירי.

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1. כמלאות. 5. אי נקי. 10. חוק. 2 (below). לבונה.

p. 132

7. ובספר. 14. ואחרי מות ר' חננאל היה בנו. 15. ארבעת ארבעת (twice in Ms.). 17. ובשמנה.





## ZUNZ'S LETTERS TO STEINSCHNEIDER

ALEXANDER MARX

Thanks to the kind intercession of my lamented friend Dr. George Alexander Kohut, the voluminous correspondence accumulated by Moritz Steinschneider during his long life was recently turned over to the Seminary Library by Miss Adeline Goldberg. The faithful and devoted secretary of Steinschneider, in whose possession the correspondence has been since the master's death, decided to make these invaluable documents accessible to the learned world. In the list of correspondents, which she prepared, over one thousand are recorded.

In looking over this wealth of material which deserves careful examination and, to a considerable extent, publication, twenty letters of Zunz attracted my particular attention. These letters, which show the relationship between Zunz, the creator of *Jüdische Wissenschaft*, and Steinschneider, the greatest polyhistor Judaism has produced, are published here for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

The letters give a new and interesting picture of the intellectual collaboration of these two giants of Jewish learning. The two men, who, in the encounters with their contemporaries, are

<sup>1</sup> We still lack adequate biographies of both men. S. Maybaum, *Aus dem Leben von Leopold Zunz*, Berlin, 1894 throws light on the period from 1818–39. The sketch of D. Kaufmann in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XLIV = *Gesammelte Schriften* I, Frankfurt a. M., 1908, p. 333–51 is full of new, authentic information derived from Zunz's diary: *Das Buch Zunz* of which only a short specimen has been published recently by Fritz Bamberger, Berlin, 1931.

For Steinschneider we have brief but reliable information in Wurzbachs *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich* XXXVIII, Vienna, 1878, p. 160–67. Wurzbach's letters to Steinschneider prove that this sketch is autobiographical. G. A. Kohut, *Moritz Steinschneider* I, New York, 1900, (reprinted from *The American Hebrew*) stops at the year 1845 and was unfortunately never continued.—The appendices to the present publication contain some new material for a biography of my revered teacher. I hope to add further documents elsewhere.

generally known as severe and relentless critics, and whose caustic and biting sarcasm we often enjoy, are revealed to us in this correspondence as tender and lovable human beings.

In addition, the charming letters of Zunz's wife, Adelheid, throw new light on the personalities of the two men and on their circle.

The letters<sup>2</sup> are divided into two groups: ten letters from November 1841 to February 1845, while Steinschneider lived in Prague; the other ten after he had settled in Berlin; of these six were addressed to Oxford (1851-53); three to Berlin (1857 and 1861); and one written from Bern (1863). The first group is of greater interest. Of the ten letters the last two are mainly written by Adelheid Zunz and four others have additions by her.

After many struggles and disappointments, Zunz at last had attained a secure position as Rector of the Teachers' Seminary. He retained this post till 1850, but the letters frequently refer to a previous episode of his life.<sup>3</sup> Five years earlier, in September 1835, he had arrived in Prague, as preacher of the "Society for Improving the Mode of Worship", hoping to find a fruitful field for constructive religious and scholarly activity. Already in October of that year, his hopes gone, he had complained of lack of science, of men, books, newspapers, and liberty.<sup>4</sup> The constitution of the country, the nature of his position, the activity of the circle that surrounded him, were foreign to him, and after a stay of fifty days he decided to return to Berlin. He felt himself a "threefold slave of Chinese petrification, of pressure under which Jews suffered and of obligatory attention to religious prejudices and coarseness"<sup>5</sup> which he considered worse than the fight for subsistence in Berlin. He handed in his resignation on January 1, 1836 and left in June of that year. The group of friends with whom he and especially his wife kept up a corre-

<sup>2</sup> Roman numerals in parentheses in this paper refer to these letters. The notes added to them are not repeated in this introduction but should be looked up if an explanation is needed.

<sup>3</sup> This episode is fully described by Maybaum, 1. c. p. 34-58.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 55 note 4.

spondence were not among the influential people. The whole experience seemed like a bad dream and left a very unpleasant taste.

Steinschneider who as a "foreigner" had to leave Vienna upon the completion of his studies in 1839 went to Leipzig attending the University for a term and thence to Berlin where he studied for a year and a half at the University. That he did not neglect his Hebrew studies during that period is attested by Zunz (appendix 1).

In Berlin Steinschneider found a small circle of young men<sup>5a</sup> like M. A. Levy, David and Selig Cassel who shared his interests and aspirations, all, it seems, preparing for the rabbinate, and with whom he kept up a correspondence which is of great interest. Naturally all these enthusiastic devotees to Jewish learning looked up to Zunz as their guide. Steinschneider, however, was the only one who seems to have come close to the great scholar; the others were evidently somewhat afraid of him, and Levy at least felt more at home with the kindly Mrs. Zunz (appendix 2). Selig Cassel's remark: "Zunz was much less repellent than I had expected" (appendix 5) is rather revealing.

When Steinschneider in 1841 left Berlin for Prague where he had studied from 1833 to 1836 Zunz gave him a warm testimonial (appendix 1). In Prague he now earned a scant living by giving private lessons and for three years, from 1842 to 1845, he served as the principal teacher in Charlotte Loew's "*Lehr-und Erziehungsanstalt für israelitische Mädchen*" (appendix 9).<sup>6</sup>

After their separation there developed a correspondence between the older scholar, then a man of forty-seven, and his younger admirer who was twenty-five. I have access only to Zunz's letters, but the intimate glimpses they give are sufficient to get an idea of the life of the three correspondents.

Steinschneider felt as unhappy and out of place in Prague as

<sup>5a</sup> See N. M. Gelber l. c. (note 22) p. 208-11 and 308-9 note 172, where the members of a student's society founded by Steinschneider in Berlin 1841 are enumerated. Levy is omitted there.

<sup>6</sup> For Steinschneider's literary activity during this period see Kohut l. c. p. 28-32.

Zunz had, though Michael Sachs's presence<sup>7</sup> and Rapoport's arrival in 1840 might have made some change. In 1843 he decided to leave, and in his characteristic way Zunz congratulated him upon his resolution to become a voluntary exile: "Whoever is not born in Noah's ark like cats, marmots, and similar vermin suffocates if he remains there (in Prague) longer than the period of the flood" (III).

Although Adelheid Zunz did not like Prague with its "narrow atmosphere" (II b), she still felt attached to the many friends whom she cherished and about whom she was anxious to get information. She was pleased to learn that they kept her in good memory. With womanly intuition she felt that Steinschneider would not be happy in those surroundings and she was hoping that he would decide to return to her husband's circle. She prophesied that he would at times long for Prague as she did, but not for the city with its antisemitism, its mediaeval institutions, its cold palaces, but for a group of devoted friends left behind with whom one would like to be anywhere (IX a). She repeatedly refers to her correspondence with Prague and mentions several names.

Zunz seems to have been particularly annoyed by the well-known and generally esteemed censor Carolus Fischer<sup>8</sup> to whom he refers sneeringly in his first letter: "I saw in Hamburg manuscripts which do not exist in Prague. You may tell the censor Fischer; perhaps it will make him burst."

In order to console his young friend Zunz assures him that he feels as isolated in Berlin as Steinschneider in Prague. If not for Lebrecht, he would not have a person with whom he could discuss problems of Jewish learning (II a). Selig Cassel who is casually referred to in the correspondence did not come closer to the master, and his brother David after his return to Berlin, December 1843, is only mentioned once (X a) by Frau Zunz. His surrounding circle Zunz characterizes as "סבבני כלבים", i. e. merchants,

<sup>7</sup> As Zunz's successor 1836-44.

<sup>8</sup> See Guido Kisch, *Die Zensur jüdischer Bücher in Böhmen*, (reprinted from *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslov. Republik II*) Prague, 1930, p. 16 and notes. Maybaum does not mention his name, but see ib. p. 54 note 2.

physicians, idiots, men of power and impudence, but no men of thought, of learning. Though Berlin almost bursts with culture, love, philosophy, Sophie (Schröder-Devrient), no one amounts to anything unless he is *ein Christ mit Titel oder ein Jude mit Mittel*. The activity of the present monkeys, foxes and wolves is exactly like the contemporaries of Kohelet, only the tails are painted differently" (II a).

But for a few poor people who perhaps would work if they had enough to eat, the field of Jewish learning is dead in Berlin. Lebrecht and I will make the necrologies over it (IV a). In a later letter he characterizes Berlin as a land of drought (XIII a). Adelheid Zunz similarly complains that "here they are all idiots, they listen to the hymns of the Schröder, but not to the *Selihot* for which they lack all interest. Where are the pupils who have intellect, knowledge and love for the *Jüdische Wissenschaft*, now to be established, and who would cherish and support my Zunz?" (IV b):

"They leave him sit quietly at his desk, but on and off they disturb his rest by tearing him around and harrassing him in his position. There must always be something new and the Seminary is already old," she says in another place (IX a).

When Zunz thanks Steinschneider for his birthday congratulations, he adds that he received such from others also, but hardly any from people of Berlin (XII).

Zunz keenly felt the lack of interest shown in Jewish learning and its representatives. "If you devote yourself to Jewish learning do not expect a bed of roses, unless, as I wish with all my heart, the next generation may harvest the seed sown by the present one" (III).

"Of what avail is it" Adelheid Zunz says, "if posterity will honor Zunz for his accomplishments? Now he has little advantage, especially in Berlin" (IX a).

That his desire to visit the treasures of Oppenheimer's library in Oxford could not be gratified—he had to wait for it until 1855<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The visit in 1828 (Kaufmann l. c. p. 339) probably was very short and did not give Zunz an opportunity for serious studies; in 1855 he spent twenty days in the Bodleian (Kaufmann p. 347).



—was a great disappointment. “Meine Reise nach Oxford wird nicht zu Wasser geschehen, sondern werden; there you have a contribution to German synonymics and to the history of Jewish culture at the same time” (IV a).

In connection with an essay of Lebrecht on that library he states שועלים הלכו בו; princes<sup>10</sup> and others travel “extra” and I sit “intra” איפכא מסתברא (VIII).

“If we should get unexpected money we shall take you as a companion on our trip to Oxford,” Adelheid Zunz writes (IV b), and when Steinschneider went to Oxford in 1851 Zunz writes to him: “You sit at the fountain for which I have been thirsting since olden times” (XIII a).

Naturally we frequently find allusions to contemporary publications. In this respect the beginning of the first letter is characteristic: “If I left your two letters of the summer and fall unanswered, you might think the praise in the *Orient* made me proud, the abuse in the *Revue Orientale* had paralyzed my fingers or that I was engaged in a new piece of work. But for the last four months I have not seen a number of the *Orient*, I laugh at Carmoly’s attacks, and before I work I make sure that I have a publisher who pays.”

Carmoly, a pet aversion of Zunz and Steinschneider<sup>11</sup>, occurs several times in the correspondence. When mentioning Munk’s then recent paper on Josef ben Juda, the pupil of Maimonides, Zunz states that it contains an attack on “Carmoly נר” (II a).

“That the author of היכל ה’ was an impostor is not astonishing, since he was a cabbalist, possibly Eljakim by name”, he writes (XIV), showing incidentally his aversion against cabbalists shared by his pupil, and in the following letter he answers a question of Steinschneider: “How can you ask why a *falsarius*

<sup>10</sup> The prince of Würtemberg; see note 74.

<sup>11</sup> See e. g. the necrology in *H. B.* XV, 1875, p. 134. During one of his lectures I heard from Steinschneider the remark that he had been charged with persecuting Carmoly beyond the grave. “I have nothing personal against him,” he said, “for my part he can have the best place in Gan Eden; but his forgeries still do harm and mislead scholars, and therefore I must continue to protest against them.” It was the objective search for truth which caused his bitter antagonism against the otherwise learned and industrious scholar.

should bear the name *Eljakim?*" At the same time he informs his correspondent that *Eljakim* Carmoly had settled in Paris.

Zunz expresses himself very strongly against Ewald: "The great Ewald in his History of the Israelites has copied my statements about the Chronicles, diluted them with water and uttered them from his high throne as if he had discovered it all, ימח שמו וזכרו. And to such men Jews dedicate their books. Not only that our work gets no recognition, but *they* even want to reap the harvest." (VIII).

Zunz was very sensitive to the lack of recognition, and he expressed his astonishment at a statement of Munk's in his *Palestine*. Even though Munk contended that the essay on Palestinian geography in Asher's Benjamin of Tudela had appeared too late to be used, he nevertheless emphasized the value of Estori Farhi's *Kaftor wa-Ferah* the importance of which had been pointed out by Zunz for the first time in his essay (I).

In one of the last letters, in 1857, thanking Steinschneider for the bibliography of his writings, he refers to the "rabbis of every color from Hirsch to Holdheim who do not mention my *Synagogale Poesie*, and behold my redeemer lives! But how will the whipped dogs fall upon you!" (XVII).

Occasionally Zunz refers to recent books with caustic remarks, e. g. "I recommend you Neumeister, Macrobiothik for seamstresses and scholars, 30 Kreuzer; Pinner's translation of Berakot, 8 Thaler, and finally the responsa of Rabbi Philippon, all three stimulate appetite and digestion." (II a)

The frequent remarks about recent or forthcoming works in the field of Jewish learning and about editions of old texts show with what interest they were hailed.

In one of his last letters he speaks of Bamberger's edition of Ibn Ghiat's Halakot, and says that as far as casual paging shows, the editor knows nothing of the modern literature about his author; "he seems to fit better into a *Shass-Chewra* than into an academy." (XIX).

In 1843, when Z. Frankel was called to the Berlin rabbinate, Zunz writes: "Whether Frankel will come here as rabbi nobody knows; he himself least of all. The prattle of the so-called public,



censored press, where everybody only hears himself, is not worth powder and shot" (V).

"There appeared in November 1842 in the *Spenersche Zeitung* an article against Frankel which some people wrongly ascribe to me; I do not write anonymously" (II a). This statement is rather curious since twelve years earlier Zunz had sent a long critical article (which was never printed) to Riesser with the injunction to publish it anonymously and not to tell even his most intimate friends who the author was.<sup>12</sup>

M. Sachs, who was finally elected rabbi of Berlin and left Prague in 1844,<sup>13</sup> is, like other scholars and rabbis, mentioned only in passing. Adelheid Zunz writes: "Sachs we see rarely, although the public is very much interested in him. To me his large entourage is too strange; I do not care to push through" (IX a).

In the same letter she gives a most interesting account of a series of lectures on "The Task of Judaism and the Jew in our Time for Men and Women" by Dr. Stern. "The first lecture my Zunz attended; he praised the splendid delivery, the noble language. I read Rellstab's short review of it in the *Vossische Zeitung* quoting passages, one of which compared Judaism with Herculaneum and Pompeii; like them it had protected itself by burial until the Reformation freed it again. I am much too good a Jewess to like what the *Goi* quotes and excerpts, although it was wrapped in exquisite language. A thing which was resting so long is dead. And if it owes its resurrection to Christianity?— I felt as if Stern were standing beside Judaism, not in it. Zunz waits for the end of the series and says: 'We shall see' " (IX a). Zunz himself only quotes the remark "One will soon look for this Stern (star) on Yom Kippur" (X b).

Another observation on contemporaries illustrates Zunz's general attitude: "Hirsch Lehren and Holdheim both harm us just like Hengstenberg and Bruno Bauer; they are systematic

<sup>12</sup> See L. Geiger, *Z. G. J. D. V.*, 1892, p. 254–56.

<sup>13</sup> Friends of Steinschneider seem to have expected that he might succeed Sachs (appendix 3). In Wurzbach l. c. p. 162 Steinschneider states that he followed Dr. Sachs to Berlin, so his departure from Prague must have made a great difference.

fanatics without love for humanity. But the holy coat at Treves will, we hope, turn into *"חבלי משיח"* (IX b).

When David Cassel in 1843 was asked to become the editor of a Jewish *Conversationslexicon* out of which gradually the plan of a *Realencyklopaedie des Judentums*<sup>14</sup> developed, Steinschneider agreed to collaborate as editor of the articles relating to Jewish literature. More than forty letters of Cassel to him inform us of the progress of the undertaking in the course of the years 1843-45 and incidentally throw much light on the Jewish scholars of the period who might be called upon to cooperate. The young friends were naturally anxious to have Zunz associated with them as editor or at least as collaborator (appendix 4). But he absolutely refused (appendix 5); such jobs he can no longer accept. He advises them not to rely on the promises of the older men (V). The plan of the encyclopedia deserves all honor, but everything depends on the collaborators (VIII).

The old *Culturverein* to which Zunz had so much contributed was reestablished in 1841<sup>15</sup>, and again Zunz took a very active interest in it. In September 1843 he drew up the subjects for two prizes by the Society (VI a) and he advised his friend to apply to it for the publication of his annotated translation of Saadya's philosophic work, promising to support his request (VII a). In April 1844 he writes: "The *Culturverein* is passing through a crisis; the approaching general meeting will decide whether I shall remain with it" (VIII). As a matter of fact, the annual reports for 1842 and 1843 were written by Zunz, that for 1844 by S. Stern. Perhaps Stern, who seems to have been the guiding spirit of the Society, introduced there also his

<sup>14</sup> See *Plan der Real-Encyklopädie des Judenthums. Zunächst für die Mitarbeiter*, Krotoschin, 1844, by David Cassel in collaboration with Steinschneider.

<sup>15</sup> See about the later *Culturverein* Jost's *Annalen* II, 1840, p. 411; III, 1841, p. 95, 177-79, 241-42; *Orient* II, 1841, p. 42, 174-75, 209; III, 1842, p. 138-41 (Zunz's annual report); IV, 1843, p. 305-6 (subjects for prizes referred to by Zunz in his letter VI); V, 1844, p. 252-54) 259-61 (Stern's annual report); Jost, *Neuere Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1847, p. 184-85; M. Gaster, *Catalogue of pamphlets belonging to the library of Zunz*, Ramsgate, 1892, p. 12; S. G. Stern's dedication of his edition of Ibn Parhon's dictionary, Pressburg, 1844.

tendencies towards religious reform with which Zunz could not agree.<sup>16</sup>

Of Zunz's own writings his *Namen der Juden* (III) and *Kurze Antworten* (VII a), as well as his introduction to Krochmal's posthumous work (XIII a) are briefly mentioned. His *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, though the title characteristically does not occur, is often referred to. Repeatedly Zunz asks for copies of old inscriptions from the Prague cemetery (VI a, VII a, P. S.) for this book. He wished Steinschneider were back in Berlin to help him in the preparation of the book for which material had accumulated for ten years, while his eyes had become weaker. "If my position were independent and if I could spare something for friends, you would have to come here. The help you could give me in arranging the book might not be without advantage for both of us" (VII a).

Adelheid Zunz informs us how intensely Zunz is occupied with his work: "If he does not write you a letter now, he writes you a book instead. Every free minute he spends on it; he does not even allow himself fresh air" (IX a).

Zunz seems to have been confined to the house even when not engaged in urgent work. In 1850 he writes: "Industrious idling (*geschäftiger Müsiggang*) has prevented a prompt answer to your letter; and yet, since Pesach I have been only twice in the Tiergarten, as if I were a prisoner of state—but that we are all nowadays" (XI). And a few months later: "You must not expect news from a man who since the 9th of Ab has not looked at a newspaper. I therefore do not know which *Sidra* is read now in Rome, Schleswig, etc. and who is called up" (XII).

When working on his *Synagogale Poesie* in 1853, the progress of which he would not delay on account of bibliographical information, he says: "I shall finish the first part and not worry any further. My readers may watch for the rest together with me. Otherwise there would be no end in sight" (XIV).

For the preparation of a new edition of his first book *Etwas*

<sup>16</sup> See the characteristic letter of Zunz to Stern in A. Galliner, *Sigismund Stern*, Frankfurt a. M., 1930, p. 176-77 which however does not concern the *Culturverein*.



über rabbinische Literatur he had recommended Steinschneider to his publisher (VIII).

The high regard of Zunz for his devoted pupil is evident in every letter. He always addressed the younger man *Sehr geehrter Freund*. He criticises his shortcomings in friendly terms: "If you review Dukes, be sure to write more clearly for us average people (*Mittelleute*) than you did in your criticism of the Kosri, so that *unsere Leute* shall not find new excuses if they are reproached for their lack of interest in Jewish literature" (IV a).

"Your "Immanuel" gives me real joy; such papers were impossible twenty-five years ago and your progress in arrangement, elegance and thorough study of the material is very evident" (III). He urges him to date his letters (III) and not to write too closely and too small (XIV)—a curious criticism if we look at his own letters.<sup>17</sup> He does not seem to have been very successful with this advice as a little later (XVI) he thanks Steinschneider for his closely written excerpts.

Zunz is deeply interested in his friend's future. Humorously he wishes him the appointment of Berliner Rav with a salary of 2,800 Thaler (III).

As Zunz and his wife repeatedly refer to Steinschneider's plan to accept a position in Tarnopol, a few words on this subject will not be out of place. Samuel Goldenberg, the editor of *Kerem Hemed*, had met the learned student and experienced teacher in Prague and suggested to him to apply for the vacant position as principal teacher in the school founded some thirty years earlier by Josef Perl<sup>18</sup> in his home-town Tarnopol. He gave him a glowing picture of this position which he considered preferable to any rabbinate in Germany or to that of Lemberg. While a rabbi depended on the whim of the members of his congregation, the position of the teacher was much more independent, he was assured a regular salary and would exert a great influence on the community. At the same time he was to preach in the

<sup>17</sup> The letter containing this complaint consists of a small sheet, 13, 5 x 9, 4 cm. and Zunz wrote 26 lines on the recto and 24 on the verso!

<sup>18</sup> Well-known representative of Haskalah, famous by his parodies against Hasidism, died 1839.

modern synagogue also founded by Perl in which there was fine decorum and a beautiful service with a choir of fourteen singers. According to Goldenberg he would find there everything he wished, a secure position, independence, opportunity for study and development, in short it seemed the most desirable position for him.

Steinschneider was persuaded to make out an application and to secure recommendations<sup>19</sup> which he gave to Goldenberg, but he enjoined him not to hand them to the director, the founder's son Michael Perl, until he gave him his permission. He made this contingent on the official position he was to occupy in the community and a few other points on which he desired to be informed beforehand in writing.

In his optimism Goldenberg did not wait for this authorization but on his return immediately handed the application to Perl who proceeded to secure the necessary ratification by the government. While I do not have Perl's letters, Steinschneider's answer and three letters of Goldenberg offer sufficient information. The former is printed as appendix 7; it explains why Steinschneider finally refused to accept the position.

The official decree of appointment (appendix 6) was sent to him in spite of this letter on October 18th together with a Hebrew letter of three quarto-pages by Goldenberg from which some of the preceding information is gathered. He wrote Steinschneider that his predecessor, Isaac Michael Dines, had only received 300 florin as salary and that even Rapoport received no higher fixed salary than the one promised him—400 fl. Nobody but Rapoport and the late Joseph Perl had ever preached in that synagogue and like the former he would receive gifts from the well-to-do members of the community for the New Year. This prospect certainly could not appeal to a man like Steinschneider as one can see from his letter; but for that Goldenberg and Perl evidently had no understanding. Furthermore Goldenberg claims that he could live comfortably for 250 fl. since everything was unusually cheap at Tarnopol. There were plans to establish a

<sup>19</sup> It was probably for this purpose that Rapoport gave Steinschneider his testimonial (appendix 8); cf. note 143.

religious school to be attended three times a week by the pupils of the Gymnasium and the Lyceum, charge of which would be entrusted to him, thus increasing his income. He offered him free board if he would tutor his own son whom he later intended to send to the Padua Seminary.

If Abraham Kohn<sup>20</sup> received 600 fl. as rabbi of Lemberg his position was in spite of that much inferior and he had to suffer a great deal through quarrels in the community, while all was peace in Tarnopol where Perl and the leaders of the community always cooperated.

A sudden proposal to elect a new rabbi might cause dissensions in the large community;<sup>20a</sup> but after a year or two of teaching and preaching, he intimates, Steinschneider would have gained so much influence that his appointment as rabbi would follow as a matter of course.

Goldenberg<sup>21</sup> cannot understand how Rapoport who knew the conditions so well had not enlightened his pupil and urged him to accept immediately. Evidently Goldenberg did not want to remember how unhappy Rapoport had been there. So far I have not found any further correspondence on the subject.

When Steinschneider was considering this position Zunz wrote that this step would be decisive for his whole life and therefore would require careful inner searching (V). "In your parish at Tarnopol you will not find many adherents of Stern's and Creizenach's religion, but also few lovers of *Wissenschaft*" (VI a). He knows of Steinschneider's Zionistic schemes with Benish<sup>22</sup> and

<sup>20</sup> Rabbi of Lemberg 1844-48; in the latter year he was poisoned; see J. E. VII, p. 533-34.—Goldenberg states that he was the excellent man to whom Steinschneider referred in his letter without naming him.

<sup>20a</sup> כי יש פה יותר מעשרת אלפים אדם מישראל ובהמה רבה.

<sup>21</sup> Incidentally in two of his letters Goldenberg inquires why the printing of his *Kerem Hemed*, which was done in Prague, did not proceed. The fault was perhaps Rapoport's. Possibly Steinschneider's answer to Zunz's questions on this point (II, VIa) gives the cause for the long delay in the publication of this volume, the last undertaken by Goldenberg.

<sup>22</sup> See Wurzbach l. c. p. 161. Dr. J. Shatzky drew my attention to N. M. Gelber, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Zionismus*, Vienna, 1927, p. 202-12, 305-10. Prof. Salo W. Baron found an interesting document on Benisch's plan which he intends to publish.

suspects him of having gone with the latter to Beyruth in 1843 (VII a), and he is happy over his intention<sup>23</sup> to leave Prague and make a trip to various libraries (VIII).

His work in the Bodleian he watches with keen interest; he does not wish to take advantage of him by too many requests for information and copies. He appreciates his prompt replies as proofs of his friendship (XI), although he needs no proof for that (XII).

"I wish you would utilize your visit in the interest of your future and—the latter you do without doubt—of Jewish learning, especially in the field of translations, but do not work too much and spare *caput* and *capital*. Undoubtedly you will have made even such a field as the daily work on titles of books fruitful for general knowledge and I already rejoice in the results" (XI).

From some hints in the correspondence we learn that two of the great books which Steinschneider wrote many decades later already occupied him at that period, his *Polemische Literatur*, 1877 (VIII) and his *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, 1893 (XI).

The plan of a literary society to publish books in German and English, conceived after the arrival at Oxford, is met with scepticism by Zunz and is not mentioned again (XI).

In the last letter in which Zunz asks for an introduction to the Librarian of Parma<sup>24</sup>, requesting him to facilitate his work and permit him to pay an attendant to watch him on days when the Library is closed, he asks his friend: "Do you visit my house and do you work there?" (XX).

In the previous excerpts I have made use of the letters of Zunz's gifted and devoted wife, Adelheid. To the insight,

While Steinschneider gave up his Zionistic ideas in 1842 he was much interested in the new movement started by Herzl. I was present in 1902 when Moise Schwab of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for the first time visited Steinschneider. To my great surprise the latter started the conversation with the question, what Schwab thought of Zionism to which, it turned out, both were opposed. Another topic of conversation I remember was how the Paris Jews could justify their financial support of Tsaristic Russia. Bibliographical questions which I had expected were not discussed at all.

<sup>23</sup> Which was not carried out.

<sup>24</sup> It was Pietro Perreau.

nobility and contentment of that noble woman, who was the center of the stimulating circle that gathered in his house every Saturday night, Zunz ascribed a large share of his success.

Her letters to Steinschneider reveal her as a woman of clear mind, noble heart and high intellect; they testify to a fine sense of beauty and vivid imagination. About Steinschneider's personality we learn more from her letters than from those of her great husband which are mostly concerned with general and learned topics. Her beautiful relations to Zunz are also clearly reflected in her statements.

A deep insight into Steinschneider's personality is shown by a remark she made to his friend Levy (appendix 2): "He often denied his feelings and compelled himself to a certain harshness without the approval of his inner self". Levy added—correctly or incorrectly—that at last his intellect seemed to have permitted him to give his feelings freer range.

It is rather surprising to learn that Steinschneider, when first in Berlin, had played the piano for her and it was through him that she became acquainted with Italian music.<sup>25</sup> He seems to have given her music lessons, since a letter, in which she beautifully expresses her sorrow over the loss of her mother, she signs as his pupil (II b).

In another letter she expresses her wish for Steinschneider's return to Berlin. "Even if you were not my friend, I would wish that you, who possess so much poetry and so warm a heart, were here for my husband's sake and for the general good . . . Memory is the most beautiful, though not the truest painter; imagination knows no boundaries . . . If you came back the original might be too disappointing, but I am not afraid, you are always good and indulgent with the perfection you have yourself created and you will always remain my friend" (IV b).

Adelheid Zunz is not enthusiastic about Steinschneider's prospects at Tarnopol—"the end of the world where all acquaintance-ship will be lacking, and I shall thank God if the memory of former times does not dry up in you. What a *Schlemihlerei* it is

<sup>25</sup> Wurzbach, l. c. p. 160 we learn that Steinschneider as a boy took lessons in music and dancing.



with us Jews that instead of flying we work in the yoke in order to eat potatoes in our old age!" (VI b).

She resents it somewhat if she is neglected in Steinschneider's letter, but is too good a friend to let it interfere with her friendly chat and she complains that when he made a short trip to Dresden and Leipzig, in 1843, he did not come to see them at least for a few days (VII b). "If I had access to Rothschild's treasures", she writes in the same letter, "I would conjure you with magic formulae. As it is, my magic rests in my soul which is truer to me than yourself, and if it wishes, you are here, and it happens rather often that Zunz and I choose you as company. But now I have said enough nice things about your not coming here."

Another time she writes: "I have chosen you for a free hour in the evening to entertain me, but not with Jewish learning which I cannot appreciate—besides my husband provides me with that—but with everything else that will enter my mind. Around me everything is as it was. The most interesting man in my circle is always my husband, if a second would be added, that would be real life! . . . Come here, so that Zunz may have another fellow-sufferer" (IX a). She goes on and lets her imagination fly. She depicts how wonderful it would be if they would win the first prize in a lottery, move to Baden-Baden, have a library and study in a garden house. She would do needle work in the garden and occasionally disturb the men, "but you and Zunz are not angry". She makes reference to an attractive cousin who, it seems, has just returned to Prague. "Farewell and always think of Berlin with longing", she concludes the longest of her letters.

In reply Steinschneider wrote to Frau Zunz informing her of his engagement to his Auguste and of his application for the position as censor in Prague—an episode about which we were informed only recently through a discovery made by Professor Kisch in the Prague archives.<sup>26</sup> "Lovelorn Mr. Censor", Adelheid

<sup>26</sup> See Kisch l. c. (note 8) p. 25. Steinschneider's refusal to accept the position in Tarnopol after applying for it is mentioned here as evidence for fickleness and lack of solidity of character.

Zunz addresses him and urges him not to accept an undesirable position merely in order to get settled. "You a censor! Do you realize that therewith your freedom and intellect become imprisoned? Do not try to persuade yourself that with books it would be different and that you would accomplish more than one believes. I hope to God that you will not get that position and that you will not give up all your magnificent plans and intentions for a little place on your own hearth" (X a).

She wishes him, before everything else, the good fortune to remain unhampered by his own self, the world and people. "Only love may tie you to everything good and to us, though we may not deserve it."

How close the relations had become after Steinschneider had settled in Berlin we learn from Adelheid Zunz's letter to Oxford in 1851 (XIII b) where Auguste Steinschneider had accompanied her husband. She misses her friends, waits for their return, and is gratified to learn from Steinschneider that the feeling is mutual.

"Accustomed life and accustomed love lull us into rest, but heart and mind long for motion, and one believes that the unknown, the foreign, the great will fulfill the desire. But everywhere it is the same, and only in ourselves is the world which can make us happy".

"You, dear Auguste," she writes, "have gratified your husband's wish by accompanying him and will return with a wealth of new views with which you will be able to enrich your old friends. In the meantime I am sitting here and waiting for the news that the Steinschneiders have returned."

We know very little about Zunz's wife,<sup>27</sup> and these few letters giving evidence of the power of her intellect and of the nobility of her character, help us to understand the important part she played in the life of her husband and in the circle she gathered around him.

It is no wonder that the loss of such a companion, after fifty-two years of happily married life, broke the creative power of the

<sup>27</sup> See [F. Lebrecht] *Adelheid Zunz' Ein Angedenken für Freunde. Als Manuscript gedruckt.* Berlin, 1874.

aged scholar.<sup>28</sup> He outlived her by a dozen years, but his spirit was broken and he was not able to wield his pen for any scholarly work.

There are a good many other interesting and characteristic passages in this correspondence, but I do not wish to extend these preliminary remarks any longer and I think the preceding will be sufficient to illustrate the value of the letters.

These are printed here exactly as they were written except for an occasional solution of abbreviations.<sup>29</sup> Originally I had some hesitation in including the scholarly notes and queries, especially in the letters to Oxford, but they are perhaps of sufficient interest for the beginnings of *Jüdische Wissenschaft* to justify their publication in toto.

Zunz's letters are all written in his minute but clear characters on very small slips; only two of the twenty are on ordinary octavo sheets.<sup>30</sup> Steinschneider in his methodical way always entered the date of receipt adding in brackets that of the writing; in the last few letters he did this in red ink. While Zunz naturally writes the Hebrew words in cursive characters it is curious that for the few words occurring in his wife's letters we find that she also used square and so-called Rashi writing.

Notes are added only sparingly. For the beginnings of *Selihot* and *Piyyutim* mentioned by Zunz a glance at Davidson's *Treasury of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry* will give those interested all the necessary references.

The appendices throw further light on the years of Steinschneider's stay in Prague and supplement the facts mentioned in the letters. The testimonials (Nos. 1, 8 and 9) are particularly interesting. That of Rapoport (8) shows how well versed Steinschneider must have been at that time in Talmud and Codes—a fact which is also proven by Hebrew testimonials of R. Nahum Trebitsch and Dr. Fassel's Rabbinical diploma.

<sup>28</sup> See Steinschneider's preface to the second edition of Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, Frankfurt a. M., 1892, p. XV; Kaufmann, l. c. p. 350. Adelheid Zunz died August 18, 1874, eight days after her husband's eightieth birthday.

<sup>29</sup> The italicised words are underlined in the originals.—I noticed too late that I had neglected to copy sz instead of ss.

<sup>30</sup> See note 14.

Although it is not likely that other parts of the correspondence will prove quite as fascinating and revealing as these letters of the Zunzes are, I have come across most interesting and unexpected information in other letters that is of great importance for the knowledge of Steinschneider's personality and for the history of Jewish learning during the last century.

### A. Zunz's Letters to Prague.

#### I

Herrn M. Steinschneider Wohlgeboren—Prag

Sehr geehrter Freund

Wenn ich dieses Mal Ihre beiden Schreiben, das sommerliche und das herbstliche, unbeantwortet liesse, könnten Sie glauben, das Lob im Orient habe mich stolz, die Schmähung in der *révue orientale* mich fingerlahm gemacht, oder ich bin in neuen Arbeiten versenkt. Aber ich habe seit 4 Monaten keine Nummer des Orient gesehen, zu Carmoly's Scheltworten lache ich, und ehe ich arbeite, suche ich einen zahlenden Verleger, denn *הממון יענה הכל*<sup>31</sup>. Obgleich nämlich Berlin von Cultur, Liebe, Philosophie und Sophie<sup>32</sup> jetzt schier platzen will, so gilt man doch nichts, wenn man nicht ein Christ mit Titel oder ein Jude mit Mittel ist. Das Thun und Treiben der heutigen Affen, Füchse und Wölfe ist dem der Zeitgenossen des *קהל* vollkommen gleich; nur die Schwänze sind anders angestrichen. Doch wozu diese Betrachtung? Ergehen wir uns lieber in die Gefilde der Wissenschaft, des freien Reichs des denkenden Geistes. Lassen Sie die Religion des Geistes (Formstecher), die unpolitischen Lieder (Hoffmann von Fallersleben), Kritik der Synoptiker (B. Bauer). S. Munk hat sein Bedauern geäußert, dass er meine Arbeiten im Vol. II des *Itinerary*<sup>33</sup> zu seinem "Palestine"<sup>34</sup> nicht mehr

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Koheleth 10, 19.

<sup>32</sup> Schröder-Devrient, famous singer; cf. letter IV b.

<sup>33</sup> *Itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela* ed. A. Asher, London and Berlin, 1841. Zunz's essay *On the geography of Palestine from Jewish sources* ib. gives extracts from Kaftor wa-Ferah and first draws attention to this important work.

<sup>34</sup> Paris 1841.

benutzen könne, aber vom כו"פ als von einem Schatze gesprochen, den man zu benutzen habe. Verstehen Sie diesen Widerspruch?— Wenn etwas in Prag gedruckt wird, dessen Kenntniss von Belang scheint, theilen Sie es mit. Dass ich in Hamburg Handschriften gesehen habe, die es in Prag nicht giebt, können Sie dem Censor Fischer erzählen, vielleicht platzt er davon. Zum Schluss recht freundliche Grüsse von meiner Frau und der Familie Bermann. Und nun schlafen Sie wohl und gedenken Sie zuweilen Ihres Sie hochschätzenden Freundes

Zunz

Berlin 30. November 1841

N. S. Herr Barasch hat mir תולדות רשי<sup>35</sup> und מאמר ר' חיות<sup>36</sup> schicken oder besorgen wollen, aber bis jetzt ist nur כליון עינים da.

(Address:) Herrn M. Steinschneider Wohlgeboren  
Pinkasgasse 55.

(Vermerk St.s:) 24 41 Zunz (30)  
XII (XI)

## II a

Herrn Steinschneider Wohlgeb.

Zürnen Sie nicht über grosse Pausen und kleine Briefe; in dieser besten Welt muss man mit Allem zufrieden sein. Glauben Sie wohl, dass ich hier isolirter bin als Sie in Prag? Wenn Lebrecht nicht wäre, hätte ich keinen, mit dem über jüd. Wissen ein Wort gesprochen werden könnte כי סבבני כלבים וכו' d. h. Kaufleute, Ärzte, Idioten, בעלי זרוע und חצופים nur keine Männer des Gedankens, der Wissenschaft. Mit den Leuten des Orients<sup>38</sup> u. s. f. stehe ich in keiner Verbindung. Dass über mich ein Krieg zwischen Jew's intelligence und Voice of Jacob—also zwischen

<sup>35</sup> S. Bloch's translation of Zunz's work, Lemberg 1840

<sup>36</sup> Probably עטרת צבי, Zolkiev, 1841.

<sup>37</sup> Psalm 22, 17.

<sup>38</sup> Editor Julius Fürst.



ישו und עקב ausgebrochen,<sup>39</sup> wissen Sie vermutlich. Munk's Palestine erscheint, glaube ich, bei Didot und besteht aus Erklärungen zu Kupferstichen. Wo bleibt Ihr מאמר היחוד?<sup>40</sup> In der L. A. Zeit.<sup>41</sup> zankt man sich, ob Dr. Hirschfeld<sup>42</sup> den Artikel im Orient (1841) contra Berliner Seminar<sup>43</sup> geschrieben oder nicht geschrieben. Hirschfeld hat schriftlich geläugnet, der Verfasser zu sein. In der Spenerschen Zeitung<sup>44</sup> vom 24. v. M. ist ein Artikel gegen Dr. Frankel erschienen, den Einige mit Unrecht mir zuschreiben; ich schreibe nicht anonym. Von Barrasch weiss ich nicht mehr als von Ghika. Zu schwierigen Untersuchungen über mir nicht nahe liegenden Themata gebricht es mir an Zeit und Geduld; Ihre Cusari-Recension<sup>45</sup> habe ich bis jetzt nur flüchtig überlesen. Wo bleibt Ihr כרם חמר?<sup>46</sup> Grüßen Sie Herrn Rabb. Rapoport; es heisst, er gehe nach Nikolsburg. Ich empfehle Ihnen Dr. A. Neumeister Makrobiotik für Nähterrinnen u. Gelehrte, 30 Kreuzer, ferner Pinner's Tractat ברכות<sup>47</sup> (8 Thaler), endlich die שו"ת des Rabbiners Philippson;<sup>48</sup>—alle drei befördern Appetit und Verdauung.—In der neuesten Schrift von Munk über יהודה ב' יוסף ר'<sup>49</sup> greift er auch Carmoly נר"ו an.—Da

<sup>39</sup> The *Jewish Intelligence*, a missionary paper, VII, 1842, p. 147 reported that Dr. Delitzsch and Caspari had a discussion with twenty of the most learned Jews of Berlin, Dr. Zunz at their head. The argument dealt with inspiration and Dr. Delitzsch drove them into such a corner that they at last denied the inspiration of the Old Testament altogether.

The *Voice of Jacob* II no. 32, Oct. 28, 1842, p. 49–51 printed a bitter attack against the baseless charges of the missionary sheet requesting their retraction; it reproduces a vigorous letter of Zunz stating that he had met Delitzsch only twice in his life and only in private. Some of his strongest statement are given in the original German.

<sup>40</sup> Appeared Berlin 1846.

<sup>41</sup> *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*.

<sup>42</sup> H. S. Hirschfeld, then Rabbi of Wollstein; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 8, 103.

<sup>43</sup> Probably refers to the correspondence from Rawicz p. 279 signed G. Abrahamsohn.

<sup>44</sup> Of which Zunz had been the editor 1823–31.

<sup>45</sup> *Literaturblatt des Orients* II–III.

<sup>46</sup> Vol. VII appeared Prague 1843; it includes an article by Zunz; cf. note 21.

<sup>47</sup> Berlin 1842.

<sup>48</sup> Evidently refers to the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*.

<sup>49</sup> *Notice sur Joseph Ben-Iehouda*, Paris, 1842.

es ערב שבת ist, so schliesse ich, nachdem ich Grüsse von meiner Frau angebracht mit dem Wunsche, dass es Ihnen stets wohl gehen und Sie endlich Berliner רב mit 2800 Thaler Gehalt etc. werden mögen

der Ihrige

Zunz

Berlin 9. December 1842.

## II b

Lieber Herr Steinschneider. Wenn ich auch bis jetzt Ihnen meinen Dank nicht durch Worte für Ihr freundliches Gedenken an mich zeigte, so zweifeln Sie doch nicht, dass er in meinem Herzen ruht, und dass nur trübe Vorfälle mich daran hindern konnten. Es war noch eine sehr glückliche Zeit, wo ich auf Ihr Klimplern horchte, Sie mich die melodischen Töne des Südens kennen lernten, während Schnee und Wind an's Fenster ihre Scala anschlugen, wir näher dem Ofen rückten, um den Wohllaut nicht durch Schaudern zu verlieren. In mir ist's seitdem oft öde und kälter gewesen, und ich konnte keine Freude fassen, mich daran zu erwärmen. Reflexionen, Vernunft, Tröstungen sind unwirksam, denn nur *der Schmerz*<sup>50</sup> ist der grösste, der einem zugetheilt ist! Ich danke Gott für das, was er mir gelassen, aber ich fühlte darüber keine Freude. Und noch jetzt ist es wenig besser, doch die Zeit, die mich der Dahingeschiedenen nähert, wird mich dem Leben wiedergeben. Wenn Sie mir jetzt einmal wieder schreiben, so seien Sie recht ausführlich und lassen Sie Ihre Ansichten, Ihre Freunde u. Ihren Kreis nicht aus. Wenn ich auch Prag mit seiner eingengten Luft nicht mag, so umfasst es doch so viel was mir werth ist. Ihr Geschmack hat das sicher auch herausgefunden, und da plaudern Sie nur davon nach Herzenslust, und ich werde glauben, es ist eine neue Unterrichts-Stunde, denn die Worte werden herübertönen wie italienische Musik, und die Täuschung und die dazwischenliegende Zeit verdecken, u. es horcht auf u. *freut* sich

Ihre Schülerin

Adelheid Zunz.

24

XII 42 Zunz (9)

<sup>50</sup> Adelheid Zunz's mother had died.

## III

Herrn M. Steinschneider Wohlgeboren—Prag

Zunächst gratulire ich zu dem Entschlusse des freiwilligen exilium; wer nicht in der Arche Noä geboren ist wie Katzen, Hamster und ähnliches Gewürm, der erstickt dort, wenn er länger wie *ימי המבול* eingesperrt bleibt. Über Ihren Immanuel<sup>51</sup> freue ich mich sehr; solche Arbeiten waren vor 25 Jahren noch eine Unmöglichkeit, und Ihre Fortschritte in Mass, Eleganz und Durcharbeitung des Stoffes sehr sichtbar. Hier nur wenige notata: Anm. 22. *Bongodas* (s. Namen der Juden S. 56) ist bon-gudas oder godas i. e. יהודה.—Anm. 43. Ein עמנואל זפרוני lebte Sec. 15 (cod. Rossi 279) u. A. 1395 ein שלמה ב' עמנואל in Fermo (cod. Vatic. 436); ein שלמה עמנואל ר' circa 1330 in Syrien (Nissim R.G.A. N. 5); ein ישראל הופרני ב' דוסא aus Guastalla war A. 1580.—Anm. 50. Vermuthlich habe ich Joab Jugendlehrer genannt, weil er ihn הרב bezeichnet, vor בנימין ר' aufführt, und יואב schon 1280 geblüht hat, wo עמנואל 6–10 J. alt gewesen sein mag, er aber sich als sechsjährigen Schüler schon rühmt (S. 194).—Anm. 71. ומצליחים hat die erste Ausgabe. S. 4<sup>52</sup> steht *nicht* תפארת העולם הרבני, Ihr Citat muss ein Irrthum seyn.

Wenn Sie sich mit der jüd. Literatur befassen, erwarten Sie nur keine Rosen auf Ihrem Lager, es sei denn, was ich von Herzen wünsche, die nächste Generation ärndte die Saat der gegenwärtigen.

Schliesslich bitte ich Sie, Ihre Briefe zu datieren, die herzlichsten Grüsse meiner Frau anzunehmen und ferner zu gedenken eines Jüngers der Wissenschaft *מחוך הים*.  
המלקק

Der Ihrige

Zunz

Berlin, 15. Febr. 1843

27 43 Zunz (15)

II

<sup>51</sup> *Litbl. des Orients* IV; reprinted in Steinschneider, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 271–308.

<sup>52</sup> Corrected *Ges. Schriften* p. 293.

## IV a

Herrn M. Steinschneider Wohlgeboren—Prag

Sehr geehrter Freund! An ערב שבת kann man nicht viel beschicken, also giebt es nur ein kleines Brieflein, selbst wenn ich zu grossen Anlage hätte. Wenn Sie Dukes rezensiren, schreiben Sie doch ja etwas deutlicher für uns Mittelleute, als Sie es in der Beurtheilung des Kosri<sup>45</sup> gethan,—damit „unsere Leute“ nicht neue Ausreden bekommen, wenn ihnen ihre Theilnahmlosigkeit für jüdische Literatur vorgerückt wird. Meine Reise nach Oxford wird nicht zu Wasser geschehen sondern werden; da haben Sie einen Beitrag zu deutscher Synonymik und jüdischer Culturgeschichte zugleich. Tanchums commentar zu חבקוק sammt französischer Übersetzung hat so eben Munk<sup>53</sup> geliefert; zu איכה ist in London<sup>54</sup> erschienen. Ein Paar arme Leute ausgenommen, die vielleicht etwas thun würden, wenn sie zu essen hätten, ist hier im Gebiete der jüd. Wissenschaft alles todt . . . . Lebrecht und ich, wir werden die הספרים besorgen.

Da ich keinen Ihrer Grüsse bestellt habe, so trage ich Ihnen auch keinen auf; dafür aber werden Sie, sobald Musse und Stoff es gestatten, wiederum ein schriftliches Lebenszeichen zuschicken  
Ihrem

Zunz

Berlin, 9. Juni 1843.

Beiliegend ein Bogen der Archives (Jan. 1843)<sup>55</sup> für Sie.

## IV b

Lieber Herr Steinschneider.

Ich glaube zum ersten Male könnte es mir leid sein, die Verhältnisse so klar erkannt zu haben, dass Sie sich nicht befriedigt in Ihrem gewählten Aufenthalt fühlen würden, wenn mir daraus

<sup>53</sup> In S. Cahen's Bible XII, Paris, 1843.

<sup>54</sup> Ed. W. Cureton, London, 1843.

<sup>55</sup> *Archives Israelites* IV, p. 54–8: Zunz, "Observations sur le commentaire géographique, sur l'Exode et les Nombres de M. Léon Delaborde."

nicht die Freude erwüchse, dass Sie wieder mit uns leben werden. Zunz sagt oft, „wenn ich nur den Steinschneider hier hätte! oder wenn der mit mir arbeiten könnte, dann können meine Bücher edirt werden!“—Sie wissen hier sind sie alle Idioten, die Schröder-Devrient singt ihre Hymnen, u. für die סליחות haben sie kein Gehör, viel weniger noch Interesse. Wo also sind die Jünger zu finden, die Verstand, Kenntnisse und Liebe hätten, die neu zu bahnende Wissenschaft und meinen Zunz zu lieben und zu unterstützen? Daher wären Sie nicht mein Freund, mit so viel Poesie als warmem Herzen begabt, so würde ich Sie schon meines Mannes wegen und des allgemeinen Besten wegen her wünschen. Kommt ein grosser Geldgewinn, so sind Sie unser ausgemachter Reisegefährte nach Oxford. Versprechungen genug, die aus etwas eigennützigem Herzen fliessen, und es gehören doch noch eigene Pläne dazu, die Sie Ihren Wohnort verändern lassen. Schreiben Sie mir aber bald, was Sie beschlossen.

Wenn Sie mir nicht ein bischen geschmeichelt haben, so freut es mich ungemein, dass ich in der Erinnerung meiner Prager Freunde lebe! Und die Erinnerung ist die schönste, wenn auch nicht die treffendste Malerin, die Phantasie hat keine Schranken, und die Ferne lässt das Sündigen dagegen nicht zu.—Wenn Sie nur nicht auch einen solchen Maler im Sold haben?, und kommen Sie dann selbst, so ist das Urbild doch gar zu enttäuschend! Doch ich fürchte nicht, Sie sind immer gut, auch nachsichtig mit Vollkommenheiten, die Sie selbst geschaffen haben, und bleiben immer der Freund Ihrer ergebenen

Adelheid Zunz.

Grüssen Sie mir meine Freundin Charlotte Loew,<sup>56</sup> auch die lieben Willners,<sup>57</sup> das Asyl der fremd Verlassenen—dann Herrn Ludwig Pollack,<sup>58</sup> und unsere Hönigsbergs. Ehestens schreibe ich Einigen selbst. Dem Dr. Sachs u. Frau meinen Empfehlung.

19 43 Zunz (9)

VI

<sup>56</sup> Head of the school at which Steinschneider was teaching.

<sup>57</sup> In Wessely's interesting letter to Zunz, Maybaum l. c. (note 1) p. 58 they occur as living with Madame Löw.

<sup>58</sup> Maybaum published extracts from his correspondence with Zunz.



## V

Herrn M. Steinschneider Wohlgeboren—Prag  
 Geehrter Freund,

Durch Herrn Cassel<sup>59</sup> werden Sie bereits gehört haben, dass ich Ihre ehrenvollen Anerbietungen, die Theilnahme an der Redaktion des jüd. Conv. Lexicons abgelehnt habe. Aber selbst ein Mitarbeiter bin ich nicht; ich mag und kann dergleichen עבודות nirgend mehr annehmen. Sie und Ihre jungen Collegen haben rüstige Kräfte; verlassen Sie sich auch nicht zu sehr auf die Versprechungen Älterer. Ihr Tarnopol-Projekt<sup>60</sup> bedarf als ein für das Leben entscheidendes sorgfältigen inneren Prüfung. Zu Allem was Sie unternehmen, wünsche ich Glück und Bestand. Übermorgen werde ich eine Traureda halten. Ob Frankel hieher als רב kommen wird oder will,<sup>61</sup> weiss keiner, er selber am wenigsten. Das Geschwätz der sogenannten öffentlichen censirten Blätter, wo jeder nur sich selbst hört, ist auch in dieser Sache keinen Schuss Pulver werth.

Meine Frau grüsst höflichst.

Der Ihrige

Zunz

Berlin 7. August 1843

23 43 Zunz (15)

VIII

## VI a

Die gute Gelegenheit kann ich nicht vorbeigehen lassen, ohne Ihre gestern erhaltenes Brieflein zu beantworten, zumal da ich Ferien habe. Allerdings habe ich sehr wichtige Gründe, alle Arbeiten, Beiträge und dgl. von der Hand zu weisen, habe auch zu mehreren der mir genannten Mitarbeiter kein Vertrauen. Doch das ist eine Privatmeinung. Zu Conv. Lex. Artikeln und zu vielen Redaktörs Schreibereien bin ich überhaupt nicht gemacht.

<sup>59</sup> Selig Cassel; see appendix 5.

<sup>60</sup> See appendix 6–7.

<sup>61</sup> See S. Bernfeld, "Zacharias Frankel in Berlin," *Allg. Zeitung des Jud.* 62, 1898, nrs. 29–51.

לֹא אֵלֶךְ bin ich weder in Dresden<sup>63</sup> noch in Prag, אַחֲרֵי הַבְּעָלִים. Hoffentlich wird etwas von mir<sup>64</sup> erscheinen; eigentlich fehlen mir helfende Hände, da der Stoff seit 10 Jahren gewachsen, die Augen aber abgenommen haben. Alle diejenigen, die mich haben grüssen lassen, auch die haben schreiben wollen, grüsse ich hiermit bestens und wünsche כּוֹחַ<sup>65</sup> denn ich bin מְצָרָה לַמַּעֲשֶׂה. Wie es scheint, werden Sie in Ihrem Sprengel zu Tarnopol<sup>66</sup> nicht viele Anhänger von *Stern & Creizenach's* Religion antreffen, aber auch wenige Liebhaber der Wissenschaft. Die gestrige Zeitung<sup>65</sup> macht die zwei Preisaufgaben (von mir aufgesetzt) des Culturvereins bekannt: 1) Darstellung des Rabbinerwesens seit 1782 mit histor. Einleitung; 2) eine Geschichte der Juden seit Alexander maced., 30 Bogen stark in der auch die Literatur berücksichtigt ist. Können Sie mir aus dem alten Begräbnisplatze *beglaubigte* Inschriften nebst Datum aus der Zeit vor A. 1440 mittheilen?<sup>66</sup>

Wird Dr. Sachs Buch<sup>67</sup> und כ"ח<sup>46</sup> nicht bald erscheinen?

Meine Frau grüsst höflichst.

Der Ihrige

Zunz

Berlin 7. September 1843.

Alte Schönhauser Str. 31.

## VI b

Wenn ich auch nicht den kleinsten Raum in Ihren Briefen an meinen Mann mehr einnehme, so grüsse ich doch selbst, so lange das noch geht, denn wenn Sie erst am Ende der Welt sind—in Tarnopol<sup>66</sup>—da ist's mit allem Verkehr—wenn auch nicht mit

<sup>62</sup> Written without abbreviation marks on account of the following.

<sup>63</sup> Steinschneider must have asked Zunz whether he could meet him there during his short trip; cf. letter to Perl appendix 7 end.

<sup>64</sup> *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* I, Berlin, 1845.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *Orient* IV, 1843, p. 305 f.

<sup>66</sup> For *Zur Geschichte* 404 ff. It was perhaps due to Steinschneider that Zunz received the inscriptions mentioned there p. 417 from M. W. Jettelles.

<sup>67</sup> *Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845.

unserem Verkehr<sup>68</sup>—vorbei, und ich muss Gott danken, wenn in Ihnen die Erinnerung an frühere Zeiten, nicht austrocknet. Was ist das doch für eine Schlemihlerei mit uns Juden, wenn man statt zu fliegen im Joch ziehen muss, blos um in seinem Alter Kartoffeln zu essen! Grüßen Sie mir nur den Dr. Levy<sup>69</sup> herzlich wieder, und erzählen Sie ihm, Dr. Riesser aus Hamburg war hier. Bleibt der noch lange in Breslau, Levy? Ihrem Prager Umgang, so weit es der meine ist, empfehlen Sie mich, u. Willner<sup>57</sup> wird sagen „wenn jemand eine Reise thut, so kann er was erzählen!“ Ich würde Ihnen ohne Reise noch mehr erzählen, wenn Sie 1) mir geschrieben hätten, mehr Papier da wäre, mehr Geist, mehr Stoff—! Nur Lust und Liebe dazu hätte Ihre ergebene

Adelheid Zunz.

(Adr.) Herrn M. Steinschneider  
Wohlgeboren  
15 43 Zunz (7)  
IX

#### VII a

Herrn M. Steinschneider Wohlgeboren—Prag  
Sehr geehrter Freund

Ihr Brieflein vom 12. Okt. ist richtig nach 30 Tagen angekommen, und ich vermuthete schon, Sie steckten mit Benisch in Beyrut.<sup>70</sup> Da Sie jedoch noch immer in Prag sind, so vergessen Sie nicht mir die alten Grabschriften (mit Datum u. Namen)<sup>66</sup> mitzuteilen; auch Sachs erwähnte einen solchen. Ihr Anliegen wegen אמונות ודעות<sup>71</sup> wollen Sie direkt an den Vorstand des Culturvereins (Dr. S. Stern's Adresse) richten+); meine Empfehlung kann Ihnen nicht entgehen. Wäre ich in einer unabhängigen Lage und hätte für Freunde etwas übrig: so müssten Sie

<sup>68</sup> About the antisemitic play *Unser Verkehr* see Grätz XI, 2, 1900, p. 308 f. Z. f. H. B. XVIII, 1915, p. 98 nr. 361; cf. nr. 346.

<sup>69</sup> Steinschneider's friend M. A. Levy remained in Breslau; see J. E. VIII, 63. As he was born in Altona he probably knew Riesser. See also appendix 2-3.

<sup>70</sup> Reference to Benisch's Zionistic scheme; see note 22.

<sup>71</sup> Steinschneider in collaboration with Julius Barrasch had prepared a German translation and notes on Saadiah's philosophic work; see Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, Philadelphia, 1921, p. 375 f

hieherkommen und mir helfen; vielleicht dass auch das Helfen und Ordnen nicht ohne Nutzen für uns beide wäre. Vor einigen Tagen stand im Magazin f. d. Literatur d. Auslandes ein Aufsatz von Lebrecht über die Oppenheimersche Bibliothek<sup>72</sup>—שועלים<sup>73</sup>; die Prinzen u. s. f. reisen extra<sup>74</sup>, und ich sitze intra; איפכא מסתברא.

Wenn ich auf das Thema komme den עברים על סוסים<sup>75</sup> breche ich gleich ab, um nicht zu langweilen. Wo bleibt das הייחוד<sup>76</sup>? Über Saadia wird das nächste Heft der Geigerschen Zeitschrift<sup>76</sup> etwas bringen—fertur.

Wenn Sie meine Freunde sehen, grüssen Sie dieselben, wenn es Ihnen Ihre Zeit erlaubt; die meinige befiehlt mir zu schliessen  
als der Ihrige

Zunz.

Berlin 27. Nov. 43.

Anmerk.+) Geben Sie den ungefähren Preis des Exemplars an; aber bestimmen Sie in dem Gesuche *nicht* die Zahl der Exemplare.—

N. S. 3 Wochen nachdem Obiges geschrieben kann ich Ihnen melden, dass meine „kurze Antworten“<sup>77</sup> hieselbst erschienen sind; ich fürchte nicht dass man sie in Prag verbieten werde; von Kabbala und Constitutionen ist nichts darin zu finden, aber leider von Fortschritt.

2. N. S. Heute am 29. Dez. soll der Brief endlich abgehen. Wenn Sie *alte מצבות* haben,<sup>78</sup> senden Sie dieselben frisch, auch ohne bonté = Gelegenheit abzuwarten. Von dem jüd. Conversat. Lex. verlautet noch nichts, aber bereits von Frankels zum April versprochenem wissenschaftlichem und religiösen Blatte.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Reprinted in *Litbl. des Orients* V, 1844, p. 247–50, 273–8.

<sup>73</sup> Lamentation 5, 18.

<sup>74</sup> Lebrecht reports l. c. 274–6 of repeated visits of the Duke of Würtemberg to inspect the Oppenheim collection; he also speaks of a visit of Zunz there; cf. note 9.

<sup>75</sup> Kohelet 10, 7.

<sup>76</sup> Not the next issue but vol. V, Heft 3, 1844, of the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüd. Theologie*, p. 261–324.

<sup>77</sup> *Kurze Antworten auf Kultusfragen*, Berlin, 1844 = *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 204–20.

<sup>78</sup> *Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums*.

## VII b

Lieber Herr Steinschneider. In Ihrem letzten Briefchen haben Sie mich so bei Seite geschoben, dass ich mich eigentlich ein bisschen erwarten lassen sollte. Aber ich gebe meine Freunde, mein Geplauder, wie mein Zanken so leicht nicht auf, und letzteres steht oben an, und will sich Luft machen, dass Sie von Leipzig nicht hierher gekommen sind, nicht auf einige Tage? Könnte ich aus Rothschilds Schätzen holen, so würde ich Sie mit Zauberformeln hierher beschwören, so aber ruht mein Zauber allein in meiner Seele, die mir treuer ist als Sie selbst, und wenn sie es will sind Sie hier, und das ist nicht selten dass Zunz und ich Sie zu unserer Gesellschaft wählen. Aber nun habe ich Ihnen Freundliches genug gesagt für Ihr *Nichtkommen*, bis Sie nun nicht die Sache durch einen ausführlichen Brief wieder gut machen, lasse ich meiner Seele Ruh. Aber grüssen Sie mir Willners,<sup>77</sup> von denen ich mit Freunden viel geplaudert habe. Auch Mdm. Löw,<sup>78</sup> u. sehen Sie Hönigsbergs grüssen Sie die, wie auch Wesselys<sup>79</sup>; Sie selbst mögen sich nicht so selten machen bei Ihrer Ihnen ergebenen

Adelheid Zunz.

27 44 Zunz (27-29)  
I (XI XII)

## VIII

Herrn M. Steinschneider Wohlgeboren—Prag

Ich wünsche Ihnen Glück zu Ihrem Entschlusse לעזוב ארץ und namentlich Bibliotheken zu bereisen: auch habe ich Sie der Buchhandlung Voigt & Fernau in Leipzig empfohlen, zu einer etwaigen Bearbeitung einer 2. Auflage des „Etwas über rabbin. Literatur.“<sup>80</sup> Der Culturverein ist in einer Krisis: die bevorstehende Generalversammlung wird darüber entscheiden, ob ich überhaupt dabeibleibe. Was Sie von einer Stelle „Ihres Originalbriefes“ über de Laborde<sup>81</sup> sagen, verstehe ich nicht. Der Plan

<sup>77</sup> See Guido Kisch (note 8), p. 16, 22 f.

<sup>80</sup> Berlin, 1818 = *Gesammelte Schriften* I, p. 1-31.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. note 55.



der Encyclopädie verdient alle Ehre; die Hauptsache sind die Mitarbeiter.—Der hebr. Koran<sup>82</sup> des H. J. Müsal ist übersetzt von יעקב לבית הלוי 'ר, ohne Zweifel dem Vf. der שו"ת, der A. 1636 gestorben; ob das Amsterdamer Ms. von dem De Rossi spricht, dieselbe Version ist, weiss ich nicht.—1) *Abraham b. Chija* in מגילת המגלה<sup>83</sup> gegen Mohamed etc. (Abravanel in מעיני הישועה f. 73 c d).—2) אשכול הכפר hat in הדסי c. 99 und 100 sicher gegen Islam und Christenthum gesprochen, aber diese Capitel sind unterdrückt.<sup>84</sup>—3) משה ב' מחתה lässt in seinem polemischen ms. auch einen Moslem auftreten.—4) *Abravanel* Jes. 52, 1. 66, 17 und sonst.—5) Die Polemik gegen die *Ismaelit. Beschneidung* s. Eisenmenger Th. I S. 679.—6) *Juda del Bene* in כסאות לבית דוד c. 45 und 49 zieht gegen den Islam und die Türken zu Felde.—Diess ist wenigstens שלא לצאת ריקם.<sup>85</sup>

Der grosse *Ewald* hat in seiner *Gesch. d. Israeliten* mich „über d.Chronik“<sup>86</sup> ausgeschöpft, mit Wasser begossen, und vom hohen Thron herunter gesprochen, als wenn er alles erfunden hätte ימח שמו וזכרו. Solchen Leuten widmen die Juden ihre Bücher! Nicht nur, dass wir für unsere Mühe leer ausgehen, sie wollen noch ernten.—Aber die Zeit drängt mich, ich muss aufhören. Die besten Grüsse trägt mir meine Frau an Sie auf.

Der Ihrige

Zunz.

Berlin 8. Apr. 1844.

(adr.) Herrn M. Steinschneider

Wohlgeboren

3 44 Zunz (8 )

V

<sup>82</sup> See *Polemische Literatur* p. 315 and Ms. Oxford 2007.

<sup>83</sup> ed. A. Poznanski—Julius Guttmann, Berlin, 1924; Catalan translation by J. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Barcelona, 1929.

<sup>84</sup> The missing part ed. Bacher, JQR VIII, 1896, p. 431–44.

<sup>85</sup> These notes, evidently in answer to a question about polemical literature against Islam, are arranged in the original: 2, 6, 3, 1, 5, 4 and subsequently numbered by Zunz.

<sup>86</sup> *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, chapter II.

## IX a

Berlin d. 20ten Jan. 45.

Ich denke, lieber Herr Steinschneider, Sie werden bald Ihre ganze Zeit in Berlin zubringen, und so sehr ich mich darauf auch freue, und meine Freude bedingt doch dass es Ihnen bei uns gefallen wird—so weiss ich doch, dass es Stunden geben wird, wo Sie sich nicht weniger nach Prag sehnen als ich, die Sie eben tadeln. Aber ist es denn Prag und seine mittelalterlichen Institutionen, seinen רשעות u. seine kalten Paläste, die mich anziehen? Es sind einige liebe Menschen, mit denen ich überall sein möchte! Einen, und das sind Sie, habe ich mir für dieses freie Abendstündchen ausgesucht, dass er mich unterhalten soll, aber nicht von jüdischer Gelehrsamkeit, die weiss ich nicht zu würdigen, auch versieht mich mein Mann damit, sondern—von allem Anderen, was mir einfallen wird.—Um mich herum ist noch Alles wie es war, der interessanteste Mensch in meinem Kreis ist immer mein Mann, fände sich nur ein zweiter, das gäbe Leben—! Sachs sehen wir selten, obgleich er sein ganzes Publikum interessirt. Mir ist seine grosse Umgebung zu fremd, ich mag nicht durchdringen.—Ein neuer Redner: über die Aufgabe des Judenthums u. der Jude in unserer Zeit: für Männer und Frauen, ist Dr. Stern.<sup>87</sup> Der ersten Vorlesung, die vergangenen Mittwoch stattgefunden, hat mein Zunz beigewohnt. Er lobte den schönen Vortrag, die edele Sprache; ich las darauf eine kurze Rezension von Rellstab,<sup>88</sup> in der Vossischen Zeitung, worin er Stellen aus der Rede anführte, eine die das Judenthum mit Herkulanum und Pompeji verglich, was in sich schützend vergraben war, bis die Reformation auch es wieder frei machte.<sup>89</sup> Ich bin eine viel

<sup>87</sup> Dr. S. Stern, *Die Aufgabe des Judenthums und des Juden in der Gegenwart. Acht Vorlesungen gehalten in Berlin, vom 15. Jan. bis 12. März 1845*, Berlin, 1845; cf. A. Galliner, *Sigismund Stern, der Reformator und der Pädagoge*, Frankfurt a.M. 1930, p. 45–56.

Dr. D. Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, 2. ed. New York, 1931, p. 227 f. and *JQR. N. S.* XXIV, p. 243 f. claims that the lectures were arranged by the *Culturverein*, but there is no statement to this effect in the volume nor in Galliner's book.

<sup>88</sup> Galliner p. 47 f. gives an extract from this article.

<sup>89</sup> Stern p. 47.

zu gute Jüdin, als dass mir das gefallen hätte was der וי angeführt und herausgezogen hat, in so wunderschönen Worten es auch eingewickelt war. Etwas was so lange gelegen hat ist todt, kann todt sein, und wenn es dann sein Leben dem Christenthum verdankt—? Es war mir als stände Stern neben dem Judenthume nicht darin. Ich schreibe Ihnen wenn ich die Zeitung kriegen kann, die andere angeführte Stelle auch noch ab, damit mein Eindruck Sie nicht verwirrt, und Sie gerecht sind. Zunz wartet das Ende ab u. sagt ויראה! Wenn er Ihnen jetzt keinen Brief schreibt, so schreibt er Ihnen dafür ein Buch.<sup>64</sup> Jede freie Minute wird dafür verwandt, er gönnt sich nicht die frische Luft. Und was hilft's wenn die Nachwelt ihn dafür ehrt, und das hat sie leicht? Jetzt hat er wenig davon, besonders hier in Berlin: Man lässt ihn ruhig am Pult, zuweilen auch nimmt man ihm die Ruhe durch Zerren und Chikanieren in seinem Amt. Es muss immer was Neues geben, und das Seminar ist schon alt.<sup>90</sup> Kommen Sie nur her, dann hat Zunz einen Menschen, einen Leidensgefährten—: Dann gewinnen wir das grosse Loos, ziehen nach Baden Baden, geniessen die schöne Luft, Bibliothek und Arbeitszimmer sind im Gartenhause, ich arbeite davor, und höre Ihre Federn flink eilen. Wer dann stört, das bin ich, aber Sie und mein Zunz sind darum nicht böse. Ich glaube und fürchte, ich störe Sie jetzt schon? Ziehen Sie über meine thörichten Einbildungen die Stirn nicht so zusammen, ist's denn so unrecht in Luftschlössern zu leben? Schnell führe ich Sie in die liebste Gegenwart, zu meiner prächtigen Cousine Zunz, zu der lieben Rosa, die lange nicht in Prag war—. Gleich komme ich auch in's Rudeln, denn warum haben wir sie nicht in Berlin? Wenn der Willner ihr reichhaltiger Brief und der Zunz ihre Zeilen von mir diessmal nicht beantwortet werden, so muss meine Neigung den Umständen weichen, und Sie mögen der Ritter sein, der mich bei den Damen entschuldigt. Leben Sie wohl, und denken Sie immer mit Sehnsucht nach Berlin.

Ihre ergebene

Adelheid Zunz.

<sup>90</sup> The *Lehrerseminar* was opened in 1840.

## IX b

Hirsch Lehren<sup>91</sup> und Holdheim thun uns beide weh, gerade wie Hengstenberg und B. Bauer; es sind systematische Fanatiker ohne Liebe für das Menschliche. Aber der Rock zu Trier wird hoffentlich zu חבלי משיה werden. Von Sachs habe ich nichts über Sie erfahren, da ich lange ihn nicht gesprochen. Wenn Sie hieherkommen, was ich sehr wünsche, so müssen Sie mir bei einer Arbeit helfen; bringen Sie mir alte סליחות mit. Von Schriften des רמב"ם, die noch nicht verzeichnet sind, weiss ich nur 1) das von<sup>92</sup> אלעזר שניידער genante Schreiben an Alfadhal (der aus Munk's notice über עקנין יוסף נ' bekannt ist), 2) פרק לאחר מאהבים incip. שמוע מה שיועיל לך im Vatican, cod. 170, nur 2 Bl<sup>93</sup>. 3) אלעזר אלארם<sup>94</sup> (?) zitiert in einem Schreiben des Prof. Rödiger an mich.

Für heute muss es genug seyn, das Übrige mündlich von Ihrem ergebensten

Zunz

Berlin 22. Jan. 45.

28 45 Zunz (22)

I

X a

Berlin 18/2 1845.

Herrn Steinschneider Wohlgeboren.

Verliebter Herr Censor!

Vielleicht hätte ich Ihnen heute noch nicht geantwortet, wenn gleich Ihr sehr lieber Brief Anregendes genug hat—, freute ich mich nicht Ihrer Liebe, und fürchtete ich nicht dass sie Sie verleiten könnte in Prag eine Censorstelle<sup>95</sup> anzunehmen. Sie ein Censor!—Haben Sie schon daran gedacht wie damit Ihre Freiheit und Vernunft gefangen genommen wird? Reden Sie sich nur nicht ein bei Büchern sei das anders, und Sie werden mehr thun als man glaubt. Und was wird Ihnen Böhmen, neben

<sup>91</sup> Of Amsterdam.

<sup>92</sup> *Responsa*, Sabbioneta, 1554, fol. 181 a.

<sup>93</sup> Steinschneider, היחוד, p. 39–40.

<sup>94</sup> I do not find any other reference to this title.

<sup>95</sup> G. Kisch, l. c. (note 8) p. 25.

dieser dürftigen Stelle gewähren? Nichts als die Sehnsucht hinaus. Ich hoffe zu Gott Sie werden sie nicht bekommen, und all' Ihre schönen Pläne und Vorsätze werden nicht untergehen um ein kleines Plätzchen am eigenen Herd. Und hat meine Namensschwester im A.<sup>96</sup> nicht vielleicht auch eine Gelegenheit Prag gegen eine andere Stadt zu vertauschen? Ich würde sie freudig in mein Eden aufnehmen und für Pärchen wäre dann gesorgt, wenn Sie und Zunz auch beschäftigt wären. Freilich, wenn Sie die Stelle erst gefunden haben, dann die Liebe Ihnen nachzöge, so wäre es besser, doch auswendig kann man nicht sprechen, wenn man nicht einmal den Wärmegrad kennt.—Zunz, Dr. Cassel<sup>97</sup> u. ich wünschen Sie wären gar nicht hier fortgegangen.—

Von Berlin, Zunz und mir weiss ich Ihnen heute garnichts zu schreiben. Jeder Tag gleicht einem weissen Blatte, und sie bleiben leer, sind es nicht die lieben Prager Briefe, die das Einerlei verdrängen. Draussen liegt hoher Schnee, der Ostwind bläst, und doch läuft meine Phantasie dem Frühling nach, weil er mir die Freunde bringen wird. Sie verschieben es zwar schon wieder auf den Sommer, wie vergangenes Jahr, doch habe ich mehr Glauben daran. Vor Allem wünsche ich Ihnen das Glück frei zu sein, von sich, der Welt u. den Menschen. Nur die Liebe fessele Sie an alles Gute, und an uns, wenn wir es auch nicht verdienen.

Ihre ergebene Adelheid Zunz.

Wenn Sie den Gubernialpass erhalten haben, und die Stelle nicht, so melden Sie es mir gleich an, dass wir auf Ihr Wohl trinken.—

X b

Aus Rache dass Sie mir gar nicht geschrieben, erkläre ich Ihnen, dass eine gewisse Schöne A. A.<sup>96</sup> mir auch gefällt, und wenn Sie sich auch damit trösten, dass ich ihr nicht gefalle, so werde ich doch mein Möglichstes thun, Sie beide—Sie sehen, wo ich halte, Liebe und Hoffnung haben Peter Schlemiels-Stiefel—aus Prag zu bringen. Vorläufig, was macht Mad. Hönigsberg?—Da Dr. Stern hier Vorlesungen über Judenthum hält, so hat jemand

<sup>96</sup> Auguste Auerbach, Steinschneider's fiancée.

<sup>97</sup> David Cassel had returned to Berlin in December 1843.



bemerkt, man wird sich bald an יה"כפ nach diesem Stern umschauen. In wenigen Tagen beginnt der Druck meines noch nicht fertigen Buches. In meinem Namen grüssen Sie Freunde und Freundinnen. Jetzt sind Sie mir auf zwei Brieflein Erwidern schuldig!

Punctum!

Der Ihrige Z.

18. Febr. 45.

Wenn Sie den alten Herrn M. W. Jeitteles<sup>98</sup> sehen, sagen Sie ihm, dass wir uns über das Schreiben seines Sohnes sehr und herzlich gefreut haben, und was den Papa betrifft יה"י יאריך ימיו ושנותיו בטוב

B. Letters to Oxford.

## XI

Geehrter Freund

Die ganze Woche wollte ich Ihre beiden Briefe vom 27. und 30. v. M. beantworten, und komme vor geschäftigem Müßig-gange erst heute dazu. Ich habe für die Eile, mit der Sie an meine Aufträge gegangen, ganz besonders zu danken, da sie mir ein Beweis von Freundschaft ist, obwohl ich davon noch gar keinen Gebrauch mache, also recht gut warten kann. Nur, dass diese mir wichtigen Mss. nicht übersehen würden, wollte ich erreichen; Sie wissen, dass ich fürs erste nichts drucken lasse. Für den Plan der literarischen Gesellschaft, die Ihr Schreiben berührt, kann ich wohl wenig wirken, sicher aber nicht früher als derselbe mir mit den Namen der Unternehmer mitgetheilt seyn wird. Deutsch *und* englisch scheint mir die Bücher unnütz zu vertheuern. Die Notizen und Excerpte aus den Mss. habe ich mit Vergnügen gelesen. Die פסיקה<sup>99</sup> verdient allerdings in erster Linie den Druck, obwohl sie nicht die von mir vorgeschriebene Ordnung innehält, und die beiden בחצי הלילה und ויהי בחדר<sup>100</sup> fehlen. Ob das Opp. 732 Q. von אברהם מקינון<sup>100</sup> verfasst

<sup>98</sup> Cf. note 66.

<sup>99</sup> Ms. Oxford 150 used in ed. Buber, Lyck, 1868.

<sup>100</sup> Ms. Oxford 889; cf. Gross, *Gallia Judaica* p. 587; he is copyist.

oder nur geschrieben ist, und wie der wirkliche Name des Werkes lautet, ist mir nicht klar geworden. Da Sie an der Quelle sind, so kann man Ihnen keine *חדושים* erzählen, und es wäre unrecht, Sie mit Fragen zu behelligen. Ich breche also das gelehrte Kapitel hier ab. Und da ich allgemeine Angelegenheiten gar nicht bespreche, und mit mir keine Veränderung eingetreten ist, so kann ich weiter nichts erzählen als dass ich wünsche, Sie benutzten Ihren dortigen Aufenthalt für Ihre Zukunft und—letzteres geschieht ohne Zweifel—für das jüdische Wissen, insbesondere für das Fach der Übersetzungen, arbeiten aber nicht zu viel, damit *caput* und *Capital* geschont werden. Wir befinden uns wohl, und meine Frau erwidert Ihre Grüsse herzlichst. Seit *פסח* war ich erst zweimal im Thiergarten, als wäre ich ein Staatsgefangener,—doch das sind wir jetzt alle!

Ich bitte Herrn Dukes von mir zu grüssen, obwohl er die theuersten Bücher<sup>101</sup> schreibt; ich wenigstens kann den Orient nicht halten. Wenn Ihre Musse es gestattet, schreiben Sie wieder einmal, und sagen Sie mir auch etwas über Oxford und wie Sie dort leben. Bleiben Sie gesund und behalten Sie uns in freundlicher Erinnerung!

Der Ihrige

Zunz

Berlin 14. Juni 50  
Alexanderstrasse 64.

N. S. Dennoch eine Anfrage! In einem *מעשה ר' בוסתנאי* kl. 8, *רשי-כתב*, Mantua oder Venedig,<sup>102</sup> 26 Reihen die Seite, endigt bei mir (defect) das letzte Blatt also: *המלך למנות מתחת ידו שופטים*: Ich frage 1) welche Edition ist es? 2) fehlt noch viel an der *מעשה*? 3) folgen noch andere Sachen dahinter?—

(Adr.) Mr. M. Steinschneider

9 Park-place

Oxford.

18 50 Zunz (14)

VI

<sup>101</sup> I. e. articles in periodicals.

<sup>102</sup> Steinschneider adds on the margin: "Opp. 858 0 = 501 0 letztes Blatt"  
cf. C. B. 3872, printed Verona 1647.

## XII

Sehr geehrter Freund,

Ihr freundliches Blättchen vom 5 d.M. wurde mir von schöner Hand vorigen Sabbat überreicht, umgeben von Blumen und Kuchen. Haben Sie Dank für alle diese Spenden, obwohl ich deren als Beweise nicht bedarf. Dennoch aber freut sich der Sterbliche jedes Zeichens liebender Erinnerung, und ich hatte deren noch von anderen Seiten—fast keine freilich von Berlin. Wie ich höre werden Sie bald erlöst seyn von dem täglichen Dienst in Büchertiteln; aber ohne Zweifel werden Sie auch ein solches Feld fruchtbar für allgemeines Wissen anzubauen gewusst haben, und ich freue mich schon auf die Ausbeute. Die Oxford-gentleman's Aussichten sind für mich noch verdeckt, selbst ein kleiner Herbstausflug in diesem Monat ist noch בתיקן. Mit literarischem verschone ich sie; wir werden das אי"ה mündlich besser erledigen können. Aufträge aber verbietet mir mein Gewissen. Neuigkeiten dürfen Sie vollends nicht erwarten von einem, der seit ט' באב keine Zeitung angesehen hat, nicht einmal den kleinen Urwähler; ich weiss daher nicht was für eine סדרה in Rom, Schleswig u. s. w. jetzt gelesen und wer aufgerufen wird. Aber ich darf nicht vergessen für die mitgetheilte Unterschrift zu danken und einen chronologischen Irrthum zu berichtigen:<sup>103</sup> Petermännchen lebte unter Carl X, aber Puselmännchen lebt noch heut להלל לאל המניע הראשון. Wenn Sie wieder hier sind, soll der Kaffee nachgeholt werden und hiermit beurlaube ich mich heut, mit freundlichen Grüßen an Sie von meiner Frau beauftragt, unter Wünschen für Oxforder חתימה טובה  
der Ihrige

Zunz

Berlin 13. August 50

(adr.) Mr. M. Steinschneider  
Oxford  
9 Parkplace  
17 50 Zunz (13)  
VIII

<sup>103</sup> I do not know to what Zunz alludes.



י"ץ צחק אברהם על הרמב"ן<sup>110</sup> zu haben, wenn eine solche existirt; Ferner das *genaue* Verzeichnis der סליחות in סליחות Lublin 1639<sup>111</sup> in 4, nach dem Katal. ms. nur die von Simeon Auerbach enthaltend. Sie sehen, dass Sie nicht ungeschoren loskommen. Aber fürchten Sie nicht weiter, ich bin am Ende. Vorher aber empfehle ich mich Ihrer werthen Frau u. Ihnen beiden wünsche ich vergnügte Selichostage, während welcher Sie zuweilen denken mögen an  
Ihren Freund

Z

64 Constabler-Square 18. August 51.

### XIII b

Meine lieben Freunde!

Nachdem ich allerlei Kreuz und Querzüge, Kreuz und Querfragen gemacht habe, um einige Nachrichten von Ihnen zu erhaschen, wurde mir selbst die Freude zu Theil ein liebes Briefchen von Ihnen zu erhalten. Zu meiner grossen Genugthuung sagt es mir, dass Sie sich Ihrer Rückkunft hierher freuen, und dass meine Prophetie keine leere war. Gewohntes Leben und gewohnte Liebe wiegen uns in Ruhe ein, Herz u. Geist sehnen sich nach Bewegung, und da glaubt man das Unbekannte, Ferne, Grosse soll das Begehren ausfüllen. Aber überall ist es gleich, und nur in uns selbst ist die Welt, die uns glücklich machen kann. Sie indessen, liebe Auguste, haben Ihren Mann durch Ihre Begleitung zufrieden gestellt, lernen nebenbei englisch, vergessen die deutsche Küche nicht, und werden mit einem Reichthum neuer Ansichten Ihre alten Freunde hier beglücken. Ich sitze einstweilen immer hier, und warte bis es mal heissen wird „Steinschneiders sind hier!“; dann werfe ich das Nähzeug schnell über den Haufen, und eile—, aber wohin? —Über eine Wohnung bei Wolfs kann ich nichts berichten, da ein Theil der Familie und meiner—die Bertha—nach Ems mit der Schwester gereist ist, und die Andern auf dem Lande wohnen. Ich glaube

<sup>110</sup> Constantinople 1525; C. B. p. 1071. The book has no introduction.

<sup>111</sup> C. B. no. 2973; cf. 2924.



diese Wohnungen sind nur Michaeli zu haben. Wenn Sie übrigens im Nov. hierher kommen, und eine kurze Zeit möblierte Zimmer nehmen, so können Sie sich für's neue Jahr noch selbst eine Wohnung aussuchen, was doch wohl das Beste sein dürfte. Erkundigen werde ich mich aber doch, und ist es etwas, so sollen Sie es erfahren. Recht begierig bin ich auch auf den kleinen Albert, der sich auch schon so gut in der fremden Welt zu finden weiss. Trost u. Freude müssen Ihnen diese Nachrichten gewähren bis Sie ihn wieder an Ihr Herz drücken können, und einen lieben Blick über ihn weg für Ihre Freunde haben.

Adelheid.

(Adr.) Mr. M. Steinschneider

25 Walton Place

Oxford

23 51 Zunz (18)

VIII

#### XIV

erh. 23 VII 53

Herrn Dr. M. Steinschneider—Oxford

Sehr geehrter Freund,

Ihr vor wenigen Stunden erhaltenes Briefchen mit schätzbaren Mittheilungen eröffne ich mit gebührendem Danke für alle mir zu Gefallen übernommene Mühe und für die gelehrten Notizen. Die Schmerzen am Arm haben nach 6 Wochen aufgehört, nur eine Schwäche ist noch zurück. Die Einschickung der Abschriften überlasse ich Ihrer Fürsorge; je sicherer der Weg desto besser. Meinen Excerpten aus Machsor Mich. 533 zufolge, steht der שבה des צהלל<sup>112</sup> im ersten oder im dritten Theile hinter שירי החרור u. שירי החרור, inc. לעקב אתן מהלל—So eben finde ich, dass er nach Hai Gaon's שירי מוסר im dritten Bande steht. Wenn שירי denselben durch einen andern als Goldberg könnten abschreiben lassen, würden Sie mich sehr verbinden. Ich beauftrage Sie für meine Rechnung demselben ein halb L.strl.=3 Th. 10 Sgr. zu zahlen u. sich dies quittiren zu lassen. Eine andere Währung als Geld habe ich nicht zu bezahlen, bin weder Spediteur noch Marqueur, weder Antiquar noch Notar. Ein genaues Verzeichniss

<sup>112</sup> Ed. I. Davidson, *Hebrew Union College Annual* III, 1926, p. 225–55.

der Stücke in Machsor Mekinez ms. u. s. w. wäre sehr brauchbar. Wenn Sie einmal Mussestunden haben, sehen Sie sich סליחה ed. 1694 in 4<sup>113</sup> (Steinschn. catal. 2862 od. Opp. 1589 Q.) an verglichen mit einer Amsterd. Ausgabe der סליחה מנהג אשכנז. Worin sind diese beiden verschieden? [1573 Q<sup>114</sup>] Für mich eine nicht unwichtige Frage. Was Sie mir von ed. Hedernheim schreiben, bestätigt Luzzatto's Vermuthung in seinem Briefe vom Juni v. J.<sup>114a</sup> Befinden sich in jener Ausgabe [1076 F] die 6 סליחות: ישראל עמך תחנה: אלהים אל דמי לדמי—[so 134 N. 147] ה' אלהי רבת—אני יום אירא—אנון תחן? אליך אקרא איום—את הקול קול יעקב (N. 10 oder 20 [9]) die Buchstaben 'ש', 'ע', 'ס'—Geben Sie mir gefälligst die Nummern jener Stücke an.

Meinen Excerpten zufolge schrieb<sup>115</sup> שושן סודות A. 1509, s. f. 73a, u. citirt 7 mal den בעל גדוד, auch nennt er Botril. והנה אנחנו כהיום הזה רס"ט מאלף הששי בת"ק שני הכתר . . . ואנחנו עומדים בגלות §8 (nämlich f. 72 u. ff) sind omitta u. §404–656 ist תורה בפ' ס' יצירה der sich auf das frühere beruft u. s. Com. בראשית]

Was Sie die Güte haben mir zu schicken bitte ich zu versiegeln und mit meiner Adresse zu versehen. Zwei Saravalsche catalogue sind—ohne Schreiben—bei mir eingegangen; ein Exemplar habe ich für Sie weggelegt. Dass der Verf. von ה' היכל ein Betrüger war, wundert mich nicht, er war ja ein מקובל, hiess vielleicht אליקים<sup>116</sup>

Von Herrn Zedner habe ich gestern Brief gehabt. Ich ersehe daraus, dass im Brit. Museum vorhanden sind: פזמונים דבר בעתו, פזמונים נאים וחדשים [באתי 3223 Steinsch, Cat. Livorno ת"י, Vened. circa 1600, כתובות לחג השבועות, Smyrna 1658. [cf. Cat. 3246]

Ich werde übrigens mein Buch, den ersten Theil,<sup>117</sup> vollenden, und mich um nichts weiter kümmern; mögen dann meine Leser mit mir gemeinschaftlich das Weitere besorgen. Sonst ist kein Ende abzusehen. In Wien schwimmen jetzt<sup>118</sup> אבני נזר

<sup>113</sup> Rite of Cologne.

<sup>114</sup> The passages in brackets in this letter are written by Steinschneider between the lines.

<sup>114a</sup> See אורות ש"ל VIII, Cracow 1892, p. 1142.

<sup>115</sup> Ms. Oxford 1656.

<sup>116</sup> C. B. p. 1273–74 ascribed to Yehiel Ashkenazi.

<sup>117</sup> Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters, Berlin, 1855.

<sup>118</sup> Edited by Letteris.

Fragen: 1) Was ist שבט תקון י"ג שבט in Ms. Mich 443?<sup>119</sup> [Jos. b. Is. üb. Belag. dch. Franzos.]

2) Mich 448 f. 148 enthält מדר עבודה des<sup>120</sup> אביתור יוסף ׳ אביתור; ich möchte aus verschiedenen Stellen desselben Proben in vollständigen Strophen haben, am liebsten wo מלות זרות וקשות vorkommen, wie z. B. צָנָה u. dgl.

3) Verz. der סליחות zu den 5 תפלות י"ב in Mich. 449. Hier schliesse ich um Sie nicht länger zu quälen, habe noch Grüsse von meiner Frau zu erzählen. Schreiben Sie bald u. nicht zu eng und zu klein. Der

Ihrige Z.

Berlin 10. Juli 53. Alex. Str. 64

# XV

erh. 18 53 Zunz

# VIII

Sehr geehrter Freund

Gestern habe ich Ihr lehrreiches u. freundliches Schreiben vom 1. d. erhalten, und statte für alles mir erzeugte und gewünschte Gute meinen Dank ab. Obwohl die afrikanischen Sachen mir fern liegen, und ich nicht möchte, dass Sie *meinetwegen* sich mit denselben bemüheten, so haben Sie Recht mit der ausführlichen Liste, und lernen werde ich sicherlich daraus, obwohl der Fortgang meines Buches<sup>117</sup> weder durch jene noch durch andere Bibliographische Berichterstatter soll aufgehalten werden. ישראל<sup>121</sup> ist auch cod. Rossi 1377. Die תקנות שו"ת vom Jahre קמ"א<sup>122</sup> gedruckt in מינין שו"ת מהר"ם [Opp. 660 Q] f. 18.—Aber wie können Sie fragen, warum ein falsarius Eljakim heissen soll? Warum Sie aus dem mir bekannten דרכי ציון das allgemein bekannte מרעות תמהנו abgeschrieben, erregt meine Verwunderung. Mich. 449 kannte ich schon mehreres. Auf Saadia's עבודה,<sup>123</sup> die Sie

<sup>119</sup> Ms. Oxford 1094, XVI.

<sup>120</sup> Printed in קובץ מעשי ידי נאונים קדמונים Berlin, 1856, II, p. 18–25.

<sup>121</sup> Israel Mozali see Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte* p. 558.

<sup>122</sup> L. Finkelstein, *Jewish Selfgovernment in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1924, p. 251 ff.

<sup>123</sup> Printed in קובץ מעשי ידי נאונים קדמונים Berlin, 1856, II, p. 10–17, cf. Steinschneider, *Der Siddur des Saadia Gaon*, Berlin, 1856.

wohl mitbringen, bin ich gespannt. Sie haben in Ihren Excerpten Einzelnes mit einem *Sternchen* versehen. weshalb? Der הקון י"ג שבת hat die Hauptsache: Ort u. Zeit, nicht angegeben. Die Hedernheim=סליחה interessirt mich nicht weiter, und die ed. 1694 nur deshalb, weil ich in derselben סליחות vermuthete (besonders zu י"כ), die in מנהג אשכנז gar nicht gedruckt sind. Ist das aber nicht der Fall, so fort damit!—Ihre 6 Seiten Excerpte aus Uri 255, Bodl. 611 [Laud. 271] u. 602 hebe ich Ihnen auf; erstere<sup>124</sup> interessiren mich sehr; doch schade, dass es nur ein פירוש יוצר ist, sonst hätte ich um Abschrift von 4 סליחות gebeten, nämlich 52 f. 130 שם ודאי—53 f. 131 אברם הוא—f. 169 לו תאזין—f. 173 אוכרה ימים. Vielleicht lässt sich aus dem פירוש dazu Einiges herausfinden für die Kenntniss des Textes. Desgleichen frage ich, ob das f. 135 befindliche העקרה סליק auf die Akeda אברם הוא geht, da zwischen beiden Stellen doch kein andres Stück vorzukommen scheint.—Auch möchte ich Näheres über eine fünfte Selicha wissen, ib. f. 173 אשמותנו כי רבה.

Wo steckt denn der מנחם ב' דוד<sup>125</sup> (Wolf IV p. 809)? ist denn auch das Jahr 1227 sicher? [f. 189, b]

Von meiner Frau habe ich herzliche Grüsse zu sagen. Auch bitte ich, falls Sie Herrn Zedner schreiben, mich bei demselben zu entschuldigen, dass ich sein Schreiben vom 5. v. M. noch nicht beantwortet: Ich erwarte noch einige nachträgliche Mittheilungen via Dukes zu empfangen. Ist der Druck des מחברת von מנחם בן סרוק<sup>126</sup> unterbrochen worden?

Haben Sie für mich Goldberg bezahlt?

Wann wird der לצור יעקב von meinem Freunde Zahlal<sup>127</sup> eintreffen?

Doch nun genug der Fragen; vergessen Sie darüber nicht die Antwort an Ihren ergebensten

the little known<sup>127</sup>

Berlin 5. Aug. 53

Alexanderstr. 64.

<sup>124</sup> Cod, Oxf. 1206.

<sup>125</sup> Ritus, p. 194: "Der Commentator David b. Menachem existiert nicht".

<sup>126</sup> Appeared Edinburgh 1854.

<sup>127</sup> I do not know to what he alludes.

Dr. B. Beer badet in Ostende, Dr. Kley in Marienbad; beide waren mit den Frauen hier; die Drin. Kley ist noch hier. Hr. David Cassel hat mir einen gebundenen Kusari überschickt. Dr. Gugenheimer ist רב in Teschen geworden; Munk kann leider nicht sehen u. כרמולי hat sich in Paris niedergelassen.

## XVI

erh. 3 53

## IX

Herrn Dr. Steinschneider—Oxford.

Sehr geehrter Freund,

Am 15 d. ist Ihr Zettel vom 5. d. M. nebst קרובה, פסיקתא u. s. w. בשלום bei mir eingegangen, u. gestern erhielt ich Ihr werthes Schreiben vom 21. d. nebst enggeschriebenen Excerpten. Ich danke verbindlichst für alles empfangene u. freue mich auf das versprochene. Nur meinen Zahlal (לצור יעקב) lassen Sie nicht im Stich, und wundert mich, dass G. ihn nicht abgeschrieben; vielleicht hat er ihn bloß nicht abgeliefert. Mündlich mehr. So ungern ich Sie belästige, so habe ich doch zu bitten, mir nachträglich zu bemerken:

aus סליחות ed. 1694<sup>123</sup> a) von der Nummer 29 (איה) u. 69 (אלהי) (ה) die erste Zeile u. die Schlusszeile; b) wie viel Nummern für ער"ה sind.

aus קנות ed Lublin 1617<sup>128</sup> einige Thatsachen oder Schilderungen enthaltende, zusammengängige Stellen aus den beiden קנות:

f. 5: אשא נהי וקנה

f. 3: שבת משוש מנים

An diesen Sachen u. לצור יעקב ist mir viel gelegen. Weiter habe ich keine בקשות.—Grätz, Gesch. d. Israel. Vierter Band ist so eben erschienen, auch ein zweites Heft des החלוץ. Dass letzteres mir von dem jungen Krochmal nicht geschickt worden, befremdet mich. Doch ich breche ab, und grüsse nur noch vielmals von meiner Frau. Überarbeiten Sie sich nicht, und denken Sie lieber an den Ihrigen.

Z

Berl. 26. Aug. 53.

<sup>128</sup> C. B. no. 2980.



## C. Later Letters.

## XVII

Zunz 10 57  
VIII

Sehr geehrter Freund

Sie haben mich durch das so eben erhaltene Schriftchen<sup>129</sup> überrascht und erfreut. Gerade heute morgen erhielt ich einen Kaffe-Sermon über die Rabbinen aller Farben von Hirsch bis Holdheim, die meine syn. Poesie nicht erwähnen, und siehe da גואלי חי! Aber wie werden die gepeitschten Hunde über Sie, nebbech [sagt Rebenstein]! herfallen. Aber ich muss Ihnen sogleich meinen wärmsten Dank abstatten, und diess schreiben, noch ehe ich selbst zu Ihnen kommen kann. Gelegentlich bemerke ich, dass schon mehrere Male meine Frau die Ihrige besuchen wollte; aber bald war Regen, bald übertriebene Hitze und Privat-Kopfschmerz das Hinderniss. Es wird Alles nachgeholt werden. Die Fortsetzung der Luzzattoschen grammatica liegt für Sie bei mir. Schliesslich bemerke ich, dass ich trotz Ihrem schönen Geschenk den mich betreffenden Artikel im catal. Bodlej. im Original in einem Abzug reclamire.

Bleiben Sie gesund mit den Ihrigen, und mit herzlichen Grüssen meiner Frau beauftragt beendige ich diese raptim geschriebenen Zeilen.

Ihr treu ergebener

Zunz

Am 10. August 1857

## XVIII

Sehr geehrter Freund

Auf Ihr gefälliges Schreiben vom 15. d. M., das gestern Abend bei mir eingegangen, erwidere ich, dass ich für das Ms. des Hrn. Soave, wofern es pergament also alt ist, gern 6 bis 7 Thlr. bezahle. Bis auf נתן ב' אשר<sup>129a</sup> ist mir keiner der genannten פייטנים unbekannt, eben so wenig die verzeichneten Städte, die in den Oxforder Mss. sämmtlich vorhanden u. in meiner synagog. Poesie öfter

<sup>129</sup> Die Schriften des Dr. L. Zunz, des Begründers der jüdischen Wissenschaft, zu seinem 63. Geburtstag (10. Aug. 1857) zusammengestellt. Mit Anmerkungen von M. St.

<sup>129a</sup> See Zunz, *Nachtrag zur Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1867, p. 40.

angeführt sind. Wofern Sie nicht ein Paket erwarten, wäre es das einfachste, Hr. S. schickte mir das Ms. unmittelbar unter *meiner Adresse*, die Sie ihm gütigst bemerken wollen. Dass ich alle Auslagen Ihnen mit Dank erstatte, versteht sich.

Mit Grüßen für Donna und von Donna schliesst  
der Ihrige

Zunz

Berlin 17. Febr. 1861

Auguststr. 60.

## XIX

Geehrter Freund,

Das Erstaunen führt meine Feder. Was weiss ich von Poeten? höchstens etwas von Poetanen, Titanen und Unterthanen. Die citirten Verse stammen vielleicht aus Mittheilungen Goldberg's, der dergleichen in seinen Excerpten hatte. So viel ein flüchtiges Blättern gewähren konnte—die הלכות<sup>130</sup> sind augenblicklich nicht bei mir—weiss der „Herausgeber“ nichts von Dernburg, Sachs und Zunz (Ritus) betreffend Giat, und scheint besser in eine Schass-Chewra als in eine Akademie zu passen.

Wenn Sie mir für Geld שפתי רגנות (Tripolis), רקנטי על התורה (gute Ausgabe) und אבן העזר לראב"ן (nicht russisch) verschaffen können, statt ich meinen Dank im Voraus damit ab, dass ich die Frau Dr,—der ich mich empfehle—von dem morgenden Fasttage (Chmel) dispensire

Ergebenst

Zunz

28. Mai 61.

Die Nummer Ihres Hauses nescio.

## XX

Herrn Dr. M. Steinschneider—Berlin

3 63  
VI

Sehr geehrter Freund,

Indem ich Ihnen aus einer Stadt, worin es wenig Hoflieferanten und viele prächtige Aussichten gibt, einen guten Morgen wünsche, erlaube ich mir zugleich, Sie an ein Versprechen zu erinnern,

<sup>130</sup> Of Isaac ibn Giat ed. Seligman Baer Bamberger under the title שערי שמחה I Fürth 1861.

nämlich an Ihre Zusage mir ein Schreiben an den Bibliothekar in Parma<sup>24</sup> zuzuschicken. Sie wollen gefälligst darin bemerken, dass mir besonders daran liege, so viel Zeit als möglich in der Bibliothek zu arbeiten; ich sei bereit an Tagen, wo dieselbe geschlossen, einen beaufsichtigenden Beamten zu honoriren, falls ein solcher für nöthig erachtet würde. Da ich gern in der kürzesten Zeit die Arbeit des Excerpirens und Durchsehens zu beenden wünsche, und meine Frau die Reise mit macht, so ist die Erleichterung der Arbeit für mich ein erstes Ziel. Haben Sie noch besondere Wünsche, so setzen Sie mich auch davon in Kenntnis. Wahrscheinlich besuche ich auch Florenz. Jedenfalls schicken Sie mir Ihre Briefe unfrankirt. Das Empfehlungsschreiben unversiegelt,—alles *so bald als möglich*; denn obwohl die hier einlaufenden Briefe mir nachgeschickt werden, möchte ich doch den Ihrigen noch hier erhalten. Ich hoffe von Parma aus Ihnen weiteres berichten zu können. Meine Frau grüsst Sie und Ihre liebe Frau vielmal, und mich wollen Sie letzterer zu geneigtem Andenken empfehlen. Auch die Kinder werden von uns gegrüsst. Besuchen Sie meine Wohnung und arbeiten dort? Einen baldigen und ausführlichen Brief erwartet Ihr achtungsvoll ergebener

Zunz

Bern, 1. Juni 1863

Adresse: Hr. Professor Dr. Lazarus.

## APPENDICES

## 1. Testimonial of Zunz

Dass Herr Moritz Steinschneider aus Prossnitz während seines zweijährigen hiesigen Aufenthaltes sich mit hebräischen Studien und der rabbinischen Literatur fleissig beschäftigt, und überhaupt mit Erfolg diesem Zweige der Wissenschaft obgelegen, bezeuge ich mit Vergnügen, indem ich ihm zugleich alles Gute für seine künftige Laufbahn wünsche.

Dr. Zunz

Berlin 16 Juli 1841.

## 2. Adelheid Zunz's Judgement of Steinschneider

From a letter of M. A. Levy, Breslau, 26, II, 42

An Zunz habe ich bis jetzt nicht geschrieben, aber an die Doctorin habe ich einige Zeilen gerichtet. Bei dieser Gelegenheit fällt mir das Urtheil dieser lieben Frau über Dich ein, das—ich glaube Du verstehst den Freund—ich jetzt fest bestätigen muss, Du hast nämlich Dein Gemüth oft verläugnet, hast Dir eine Härte des Gefühls manchmal aufgedrungen, ohne Zustimmung Deines innern Ich; mir scheint jetzt Dein Verstand endlich die Erlaubniss ertheilt zu haben, Dein Gefühl mehr hervortreten zu lassen;—ich füge noch besorgt hinzu—der Hegelianismus ist dem Schleiermacher nicht so weit entfernt, als man gewöhnlich glaubt; und auch Du hast Hegelianismus nolens volens in Berlin eingesogen.—

## 3. On Steinschneider's Prospects in Prague

Do. 4. VII 44.

Dein liebes Schreiben hat mich zum Theil betrübt. Was ich so oft bei mir dachte, was Du aber immer nicht so recht eingestehen wolltest, so oft das Gespräch darauf kam, das lese ich jetzt nicht bloss zwischen den Zeilen, sondern sogar in denselben. Du bist nicht mehr für Prag, überhaupt nicht für österreichische Zustände gemacht; warum nicht?—nun die Antwort muss man wieder zwischen den Zeilen Deines Briefes lesen. Aus 1000

Gründen kannst Du nicht in Prag ankommen;<sup>131</sup> ich wüsste keinen einzigen stichhaltigen aufzufinden und auch kein fähigeres Individuum für die Stelle. Wie der Orient berichtet so soll Landau<sup>132</sup> Hoffnungen haben. Ist etwas daran?

#### 4. On Zunz's Collaboration on the *Real-Encyclopädie*.

From a letter of David Cassel to Steinschneider, Wollstein, den 6 Juni, 43.

Wenn ich will, dass Du Dich an Zunz wendest, so ist das nicht als Übermuth auszulegen. Im Anfang als mir blos die Idee eines Conversations-lexicons vorschwebte, wollte ich Zunz nicht auffordern, weil ich glaubte, dass er seine Zeit besser verwenden wird, als auf dergleichen. Jetzt da unser Unternehmen immer mehr einen wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt annimmt, ist es für ihn noch weniger unpassend mitzuarbeiten als am Brockhaus'schen Lexicon. Meine Meinung ist diese: Du, der Du ihm doch immer ziemlich nahe standest, schreibst einen Brief an ihn, worin Du ihm ganz einfach Dein Verhältnis zu diesem Unternehmen, und wie Du dazu gekommen, auseinandersetzt, und um seinen Rath bittest; vielleicht auch, dass er einzelne Parthien selbst übernimmt. Diesen Brief schickst Du an mich; ich werde noch etwas schreiben, und beides zusammen, durch meinen Bruder an ihn besorgen.

#### 5. Selig Cassel's Letter on the same subject.

(See Zunz's letter V).

Berlin den 23. Juli 1843.

Mein lieber Freund! Kaum befreit von einer Augenentzündung, die nur rheumatisch war und die meine Thätigkeit 8 Tage lang hinderte, melde ich Dir den Erfolg Deines Auftrages und meine Freude über Deinen Brief. Bei Zunz bin ich gewesen; es war das erste Mal, dass ich hinging, er hat mich freundlich aufgenommen und nur in betreff Deines Briefes folgendes Unerquickliche gesagt.

<sup>131</sup> Evidently as Sachs's successor.

<sup>132</sup> W. Landau of Dresden, at that time teacher, later Frankel's successor as rabbi.



An eine baldige Antwort könne er gar nicht denken da er soviel Briefe und nach Prag allein 6 zu schreiben hätte; einen herzlichen Gruss für Dich hat er mir übertragen und was die Encyclopädie betrifft, so hättest Du ihm nicht nur die Sache gar nicht detailirt, so dass er gar nicht wisse, von was Du sprächest, sodann er mache sich überhaupt zu gar keiner Redaktion mehr verbindlich und er wolle nicht mehr Arbeiten herausgeben, die nicht seinen Namen mit Recht trügen. Wenn ich nun auch mit Recht zweifele, ob er die Redaktion auch nach nochmaliger Anfrage übernehmen würde, so ist doch der Zweifel geringer was seine Mitarbeit betrifft, so bald man ihn nur von der Idee, dass die Encyclopädie ein gewöhnliches flaches Conversationslexicon wäre abbringt. Meinst Du daher, dass daran Etwas liege, so schreibe noch einmal an ihn, noch ohne seine Antwort erwartet zu haben et fiat sic . . .<sup>132a</sup> Er hat sich galant meiner Zenobia<sup>133</sup> erinnert und war weit weniger abstossend als ich ihn erwartet.

Nun zu Anderem. Wenn mich ein Schreiben von Dir erfreute, so hat es mich andererseits nicht befriedigt,—meine Mutter würde gesagt haben, dass es die Post reich machen heisst, wenn man so vieles Papier leer fortschickt. Jedenfalls hätte ich gern wissen wollen, was Du jetzt arbeitest; wie Du lebst und wie lange Du falls Du nicht Tarnopol zu Deiner Pfarre machst, in dem allerkatholischsten Prag Dich aufzuhalten gedenkst. Am schönsten wäre, Du kämst wieder hierher. Was meine Arbeiten betrifft, an denen Du so grosses Interesse nimmst, so glaube ich ein bischen unbescheiden, das Verhältnis unserer Trennung mit dem zweier liebenden vergleichen zu können die obschon getrennt durch Jahre noch immer das jugendliche Bild der geliebten Persönlichkeit im Herzen tragen und die nachdem sie grau und runzelvoll sich wieder begegnen betrübt die Vernichtung ihrer Phantasiebilder erschauen. Ich bin etwas weiter gegangen in den zwei Jahren unserer Trennung; wenigstens ich bin fleissig gewesen und indem ich mich der Historie par excellence gewidmet mich zuerst mit den Quellen des Mittelalters vertraut gemacht,

<sup>132a</sup> I could not decipher a few words.

<sup>133</sup> "Das Glaubensbekenntnis der Zenobia, Fürstin zu Palmyra," *Literaturblatt des Orients* II, 1841, nos. 31–35.

dieser grössten Klippe für alle Historiker auch unseres Judenthums. Ich habe die Jahre sämtlich zu Vorstudien benutzt zu einstigem Herantreten an das grosse Werk im Weinberge der jüdischen Geschichte<sup>134</sup> zu arbeiten und sind auch die profanen Beschäftigungen mit alter, neuer und mit philosophischer Geschichte mehr gewesen, so sind die jüdischen mir nicht fremd geblieben; ich hoffe Dir im Winter Exempel geben zu können, dass ich mit der jüdischen Literaturgeschichte auch ein bischen bekannt geworden bin. Was die Artikel über arabische Geschichte betrifft, die ich für die Encyclopädie arbeiten werde, so möchte ich in der That Dein Auge zum Corrector bestellen und Dir sie zuvor zeigen, aber im Nothfalle müssen sie auch ohnedies Deiner strengen Critik genügen. Verzeihe diesen schlecht geschriebenen Brief der wenigen Zeit, die ich habe, und schreibe bald wieder an Deinen

wirklich sich vollen Herzens Deiner erinnernden

S. Cassel.

Dein Rendezvous<sup>135</sup> mit David und Levy macht mir Freude. Schade dass, doch man kann nit wissen was geschieht.

#### 6. Steinschneider's Appointment at Tarnopol<sup>136</sup>

No. 102

Dem Herrn Moritz Steinschneider

Lehrer an der Lehr=und Erziehungsanstalt für israelitische Mädchen zu Prag.

Die hohe Landesstelle hat mit Dekret vom 25. August d. J. Z. 45045 Ihre Ernennung zum ersten Lehrer des Talmuds und der hebräischen Sprache an der hiesigen deutsch=israelitischen Hauptschule mit einer jährlichen Besoldung von 400 fl. Conv. Mze zu genehmigen geruhet.

<sup>134</sup> S. Cassel wrote the great article "*Juden (Geschichte)*" in Ersch und Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, Section II vol. XXVII, Leipzig 1850 as a result of these studies.

<sup>135</sup> As far as I can see from their letters Steinschneider did not meet these friends on his trip.

<sup>136</sup> Which he did not accept. Together with this document he received a long Hebrew letter by Goldenberg in answer to his letter to Perl, printed as appendix 7. See above p. 105-7.

Es wird Ihnen demnach in Folge kreisämtlicher Verständigung vom 19. v. M. Z. 12272 zu Ihrer beruhigenden Versicherung das gegenwärtige Anstellungsdekret in der Hoffnung ertheilt, dass Sie sich bestreben werden, durch die genaueste Befolgung aller in Schulsachen bestehenden Verordnungen, durch pünktliche Beobachtung der von Ihnen eingegangenen Verbindlichkeiten, durch warmen Eifer in der Erfüllung Ihrer Berufspflichten, wie durch einen musterhaften religiös = moralischen Lebenswandel die Erwartung zu rechtfertigen, die man von Ihnen bey gegenwärtiger Anstellung hegt.

Tarnopol am 18. Oktober 1843.

Michael Perl  
Direktor.

(Adress:)

*Von der Direktion der Tarnopoler deutsch = isr. Hauptschule*  
An

Herrn Moritz Steinschneider  
Lehrer an der Lehr = und Erziehungsanstalt  
für israelitische Mädchen

No. 102.

zu

Exoff.

Prag

(Seal)

#### 7. Steinschneider's Veiled Refusal<sup>137</sup>

Copie meines Briefes an Perl Sept. 43

Hochzuverehrender Herr Direktor! Gewiss weiss ich die gütige Zuvorkommenheit zu würdigen, mit welcher Sie mein Schreiben an Herrn Goldenberg selbst beantworten. Demohngeachtet kann ich nicht umhin, mein Bedauern darüber zu äussern, dass Sie aus mir unbekannten Gründen, nur einen einzigen Punkt desselben: Mein Verhältnis zur Löw'schen Schule hieselbst—berücksichtigten. Da nun die ganze Verhandlung einen solchen, aller Erwartung entgegengesetzten Gang genommen, so muss ich mich

<sup>137</sup> This letter shows why Steinschneider did not accept the position and gives evidence of his high conception of such a place.

entschliessen—um endlich eine gänzliche Entscheidung herbeizuführen—durchaus gegen meine Neigung und Gewohnheit mich selber zu wiederholen und Dinge zu erörtern, von denen ich gehofft, dass das Hervorheben derselben am wenigsten von meiner Seite werde ausgehen müssen.—Gönnen Sie also verehrter Herr meiner Auseinandersetzung ab ovo im beiderseitigen Interesse geneigtes Gehör; da dieselbe—wenigstens was mich betrifft,—jeden weiteren Nachtrag ausschliessen; so wie Ihre geneigte Beachtung eine schon zu lange schwebende Frage auf eine oder die andere Weise lösen mag.

Mein Schreiben vom 23/5 sollte seinen 3 Hauptpunkten nach eine vorläufige Grundlage zur näheren Unterhandlung darbieten, und eine entsprechende Beantwortung mich veranlassen, das Gesuch durch Hn. Goldenberg einzusenden. Diese erwartete Antwort war aber—vermuthlich durch Hn. G. irrige Angabe über seine Abreise, und Ihren Wunsch nach einer vorangehenden Besprechung mit demselben, verspätet—zur Zeit seiner Abreise noch nicht hier; und ich liess mich überreden das Gesuch mitzugeben, jedoch mit der *ausdrücklichen* Bemerkung, erst meine, von seiner Antwort abhängige briefliche Vollmacht und Verfügung zur Einreichung abzuwarten.—Es handelte sich nämlich um eine gewissermassen offizielle Bestätigung der gesprächsweise mitgetheilten Verhältnisse, ehe eine definitive Bewerbung eintrete.—Zu meinem nicht geringen Erstaunen las ich hierauf in dero Werthem d. do 17/6 von einer sofortigen Einreichung und baldigen Erledigung des Gesuches! Zwar ist da von den 3 Unterrichtsstunden, wenn nicht die Nothwendigkeit mehr erfordert; von Einverständenseyn in Beziehung auf die Predigtzeit—die Rede; der 3te Fragepunkt meines Schreibens, sowohl in höherem als materiellem Interesse hatte sich keiner Sylbe zu erfreuen! Was blieb mir nun übrig zu *glauben*, als dass bey Rücksendung des erledigten Gesuches mir die näheren Verhältnisse der Schule dargelegt nahmentlich das ausserhalb dem eigentlichen Wirkungskreise der Schule Liegende zur Sprache kommen sollte; und was demnach zu *thun* als ruhig diesen Zeitpunkt abzuwarten? obwohl schon die, wenn auch wohlgemeinte doch voreilige Einreichung des Gesuches bey einem löblichen Directorate mir nicht genehm seyn konnte, wie ich das Alles schon in meinem

Schreiben an Hn. G. auseinandergesetzt, welcher jedoch dasselbe unverständlich gefunden haben will!—Und nun nachdem schon seit circa 2 Monaten von vielen Seiten her, von Herablangung eines Decrets (?) und in Hn. G. s Schreiben d. do 25/7 von Ornat<sup>138</sup> und Abreise die Rede ist weiss doch Ihr Werthes vom 15/8 nur von *baldiger* Herablangung eines solchen, worauf hin ich mich zur Reise anschicken möge.—Könnte ich mich nun auch ohne Ansicht des erledigten Gesuches oder Decretes über die hauptsächlichsten Verhältnisse beruhigen, da nämlich 3 Unterrichtsstunden festgestellt, 400 fl. Gehalt mindestens in meinem Gesuche erwähnt sind; so kann doch das Nähere über meine ganze Stellung, resp. Verwendung an der Schule nicht gleichgültig seyn. Könnte ich mich ferner bewogen finden, literarische und persönliche Verbindlichkeiten und Verhältnisse entschieden abzubrechen und aufzulösen, zeitraubende und kostspielige Anordnungen zu treffen und dgl. weil Ihre werthe Zusage mir so viel gilt als eine Bestätigung d. h. Guberniums so bleibt doch noch mein letzter Entschluss von der Erledigung jenes Punktes abhängig, den ich nun—ich wiederhole es nur mit grösstem inneren Widerstreben, weitläufiger zur Sprache bringen muss, als es in meinem ersten Schreiben geschehen.—

Nicht der Drang äusserer Verhältnisse, nicht das Begehren nach einer Versorgung, nicht Geld—und Ehrgeitz—nur die *Pflicht* kraft-und berufgemässen Wirkens, konnte mich bewegen, nach einem Kampfe mit meinen bisherigen Sympathien der ehrenvollen Aufforderung des Hn. Goldenberg nur Gehör zu geben.—Nur ein entsprechender Wirkungskreis mit den zu einem unabhängigen, selbstzwecklichen Wirken nothwendigen Mitteln vermöchte mich zu veranlassen, schon jetzt die Bürde des Amtes aufzuladen, Entsagung von eigenthümlicher Art über mich zu nehmen. Keines wegs möchte ich aber eine so ernste Sache als einen, alle Augenblicke zu beenden möglichen *Versuch*—die anzutretende Stellung bloß als erste Stufe auf der Leiter betrachten.—Das Gehalt von 400 fl. bietet aber da, wo die Wohnung

<sup>138</sup> In this German letter (in Hebrew characters) Goldenberg urges him to order בנרי כהונה for preaching; the simpler they are the better. He should inform him of the price which he would then forward.



eines Unverheiratheten 70 fl. in Anspruch nimmt,<sup>139</sup> keine dauernde Versorgung des Nothwendigsten. Der Lehrer und Prediger,— bemerkte mir ein tüchtiger, bald in Ihrer Nachbarschaft wirkender Mann<sup>140</sup> sehr treffend—darf auch schon deshalb nicht materielle Mittel vermissen, weil er vor Allem in guten Werken vorangehen muss, zu deren Empfehlung er berufen ist, vielweniger darf er selber zum Gegenstand derselben herabsinken. *Mir* aber, der dortigen Verhältnisse unkundig, kam es schon deswegen nicht zu, auf die besonderen künftigen Einrichtungen zu diesem Behufe einzugehen (und ich fühlte es und fühle es noch in diesem Augenblick, unter der Würde meines Verhältnisses dergleichen in den Vordergrund zu rücken) gab mir doch Hr. G. Manches an, was wie ich jetzt weiss den wirklichen Verhältnissen nicht entspricht, z. B. Trauungsreden; während doch *gesetzliche* Trauungen in der Schulsynagoge wohl noch lange zu den Seltenheiten gehören werden.—

Andererseits bietet die durchaus isolirte und untergeordnete Stellung an der Schule (wo sogar der eigentliche Religionsunterricht in anderen Händen ist) ohne eine irgendwie begründete Relation zur *Gemeinde* durchaus keinen genügenden, ansprechenden Wirkungskreis; und wieder kann es nicht *meine* Sache seyn das passende Mittel anzugeben. Zwar muss ich bekennen, dass ich auf die Unterredung mit Hn. G. (dessen Kenntniss der Verhältnisse vorauszusetzen) voll Zutrauen und Hoffnung gerade keine *festen Garantien* für die Zukunft erwartete, die natürlich zum Theil sich durch meine Thätigkeit gestalten sollte; allein die absichtlich scheinende gänzliche Umgehung dieses Punktes von Ihrer Seite lässt mich nun nichts Anderes als die bittere Empfindung unnöthiger Illusion und Enttäuschung mit der natürlichen Folge von Misstrauen, und das höchst unangenehme besonders *meiner* Gefühlsweise zuwideres Geschäft dieser Zeilen, die ich fast schon bereute, wenn nicht mein Bewusstseyn mich über jede etwaige Missdeutung erhebe, und die Nothwendigkeit

<sup>139</sup> Goldenberg had written in the same letter that he had rented for him two very nice rooms with foyer for that price.

<sup>140</sup> Abraham Kohn; see note 20.

jedes meiner Worte rechtfertigte; so wie ich auch bey einem löbl. Direktorat und dem h. Gubernium, selbst beim ungünstigsten Ausgang dieser Angelegenheit, von aller aus der vorzeitigen Einbringung des Gesuches erfolgenden Missständen schuldfrey anerkannt zu werden hoffe und erwarte.

Ich muss offen bekennen, dass die bisherige Wendung meines allerersten Unternehmens dieser Art nur geeignet ist, mich auf eine Zeitlang von jedem ähnlichen zurückzuschrecken. Bemerken muss ich noch, dass ich im allergünstigsten Falle—d. h. wenn meine wohlgegründeten Scrupel durch eine nunmehr für nothwendig erachtete Sicherstellung beseitigt werden sollten—nunmehr durchaus nicht vor Ostern<sup>141</sup> nach Tarnopol gehen kann; so wie ich im entgegengesetzten Fall ergebenst bitte mein Gesuch samt Beylagen zu Vermeidung von Kosten und Mühen an meinen Kousin Hn. Philipp Broch<sup>142</sup> Prof. der Violine zu Lemberg, gefälligst einsenden zu wollen. Schliesslich muss ich meine etwaige Verabsäumung und Verkürzung der Correspondenz Pflicht durch besondere Störungen gütigst zu entschuldigen bitten. Auch in diesem Augenblick bin ich im Begriff auf 14 Tage nach Dresden und Leipzig zu gehen, und sehe bey meiner Rückkunft Ihrem Geehrten entgegen.

In der Zuversicht dass mein der Pflicht und Noth sich fügendes Benehmen bey jeder Wendung der obschwebenden Sache, dero geschätzte Ansicht von meiner geringen Person nicht ins Schlimmere verkehren wird, so wie ich mir allenfalls das augenblickliche Verhältnis zur Ehre rechnen werde. Verharre mit dem herzlichsten Wunsch einer כוח"ט

dero Ergebenster

M. Steinschneider.

Prag den 20ten September 843.

<sup>141</sup> In the letter of 13–18. Oct. 1843 Goldenberg writes that Perl was ready to wait till April and would send him the salary for the preceding two months for his travelling expenses as well as 40 fl. for his robes.

<sup>142</sup> Goldenberg states that he received this letter also through Broch who evidently agreed with Steinschneider's attitude and shared A. Kohn's point of view. He adds some sneering remarks about the Lemberg people.

## 8. Testimonial of Rapoport

## Zeugniss

Dass Herr Rabbinatskandidat und geprüfter Lehrer Moritz Steinschneider aus Prossnitz in Mähren vermöge seiner Erudition in der gesammten hebräischen Literatur, vermöge seiner viel-jährigen Studien und vielfachen privaten & öffentlichen Praxis im pädagogischen Fache, so wie seines musterhaften sittlich = religiösen Lebenswandets halber, sowohl privaten als öffentlichen Anstalten als Lehrer in den Fächern der Bibel = und hebräischen Sprach = Kunde, des Talmuds<sup>143</sup> und der aus demselben resultirenden Religions = und Gesetz = Codices, so wie der mit diesen Gegenständen verwandten Literatur angelegentlichst empfohlen zu werden verdient, wird hiemit durch eigenhändige Unterschrift und begedrucktes Siegel bestätigt

Salomon L. Rapoport

erster Rabbiner der Israelitengemeinde zu

Prag den 2. Juny. 1843

(Seal)

## 9. Charlotte Löw's Testimonial on Steinschneider's Activity as Teacher in Prague.

## Zeugniss.

Herr Moritz Steinschneider aus Prossnitz in Mähren hat bisher durch drei volle Jahre als erster Lehrer in meiner Lehr = und Erziehungsanstalt die obere Abtheilung der Schülerinnen in allen ihren wissenschaftlichen Lehrgegenständen unterrichtet und drei öffentliche Annualprüfungen abgehalten.—Da seine Tüchtigkeit im Lehrfache und ihre guten Erfolge bereits sowohl von Seiten der wohlloblichen Schuloberaufsichts = Behörde, als auch anderen geachteten Stimmen wiederholt öffentliche Anerkennung gefunden hat, so füge ich blos hinzu, dass sein musterhafter Fleisz und seine Ausdauer im Unterrichte, seine wohlthätige Einwirkung auf die Sittlichkeit und Frömmigkeit der Zöglinge—auch durch *freie sabbathliche Vorträge* und Einführung der *Confirmationsfeier*

<sup>143</sup> Steinschneider was to teach Talmud and the Hebrew language at Tarnopol; cf. note 19

beim Austritt derselben—so wie sein Benehmen und Charakter überhaupt ihm die Liebe und Achtung der Zöglinge, die Anerkennung der Eltern und die Freundschaft seiner Collegen an dieser Anstalt erworben haben; so dass ich Herrn Steinschneider nur mit innigem Bedauern, doch mit den besten Wünschen für seine weitere Laufbahn entlasse und jeder Lehranstalt mit bestem Gewissen besonders empfehle.

Charlotte Löw.

Prag 8 May 1845.

Coram me

Joseph Rauch

k.k. Schulenoberaufseher

u. Consistorialrath.

Da ich allen Prüfungen beygewohnt, so  
kann ich alles obige in vollem Masse  
bestättigen. Prag den 9ten Mai 845

Salomon Rapoport  
erster Rabbiner zu Prag

(A seal is added to each signature.)





## STUDIES IN CRESCAS

HARRY AUSTRYN WOLFSON

It is not often given to a book to be taken up for detailed examination by two eminent scholars. Such good fortune has fallen to my *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* in the reviews by Professor Julius Guttman in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, N.F. 11 (1933), pp. 225-232, and by Professor Isaak Heinemann in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 76 (1932), pp. 487-489. That they should find themselves in disagreement with some of the statements in the book was naturally to be expected; that I should not agree with their disagreements is likewise quite natural. But the differences between us, which I am to discuss here, are more than the mere bandying of words between reviewers and author. They will prove, I hope, to be of general interest to students of Hebrew philosophic texts.

### Guttman

1. In a work like *Crescas' Or Adonai* which was completed only about one hundred and forty-five years before its appearance in print (1410-1555) and of which we have eleven manuscripts, one of which was apparently written by a student of the author and another was executed forty-seven years after the composition of the work, we should hardly expect to find any great number of corruptions which would not correct themselves in the various manuscripts. If despite all the manuscripts difficulties of reading do still appear in the text, we should naturally expect them to be due to inadequacies of style in the original composition rather than to corruptions at the hands of copyists—especially since we have reason to believe that no definitively revised text of the work ever emanated from the author (cf. pp. 703-704). Consequently, in attempting to remove these difficulties of reading, we should naturally be inclined to follow the method of

interpretation rather than that of emendation. This indeed is the principle which I have followed in the study of those portions of the *Or Adonai* which are included in the *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*. Only in a limited number of instances, where the corruption of the text was quite obvious and no conceivable interpretation could remove it, have I allowed myself to emend the text or to suggest an emendation—and this on the assumption that such instances of corruption might have been careless slips in the original text. A list of such conjectural emendations is given in the "Index of Subjects and Names," p. 732, under "Text." But Professor Guttmann thinks that I should have been more lavish with my conjectural emendations, and as an illustration he suggests three such emendations. I shall discuss them here one by one.

(a) On p. 196, ll. 6–8, in the passage *זהו המקום המיוחד לחלקים המתנועעים בעצם בתנועת הכל איננו מקיף שיהיה לו ערבות* Guttmann suggests the change of *המקום* to *המקומם*. This change is unacceptable. Though Crescas uses the term *המקומם* a few lines later (p. 196, l. 16), in this particular passage its use is impossible, and for the following reason: Whenever the refluxion of the elements toward their natural localities is explained by desire, the explanation always means that the elements have a desire for their natural localities and not that the natural localities have a desire for their elements. Thus also Crescas throughout his discussion speaks of the object having *האותות*, *ערבות*, or *דמיון* for its place (cf. p. 196, ll. 15–20) and not of the place having *האותות*, *ערבות*, or *דמיון* for its object. Likewise in the passage quoted by me from Averroes' *Epitome of the Physics* (see p. 444, n. 62) the objects are said to have *האותות*, *ערבות*, and *דמיון* for their place, but not the other way around. To change in this passage *המקום* to *המקומם*, as suggested by Guttmann, would make Crescas say that it is the place which has *ערבות* and *דמיון* for the object, but this would not be in accordance with what we should expect him to say.

To strengthen his contention Guttmann further says: "Dass der vorliegende Text unmöglich ist, zeigt die Übersetzung W's die ganz willkürlich an Stelle des Raumes das Raumobjekt zum Subjekt des Satzes macht." To this I say that there is nothing

arbitrary in my translation. The pronoun לו does not refer, as is assumed by Guttman, to שהמקום in the passage וזה שהמקום המיוחד לחלקים המתנועעים בעצם בתנועת הכל. That it cannot refer to שהמקום I have already shown in the preceding paragraph. Logically לו refers to לחלקים which is used here by Crescas in the distributive sense for the reason that in his mind the word לחלקים referred to כל אחד מחלקיו on p. 151, l. 19. Grammatically, however, it may be taken to agree with הכל. That this is so may be clearly seen from the passage which immediately follows. In my translation I have tried to bring out this construction of the text. Of course, had Crescas submitted his text to me for revision, I would have advised him to change here לו to להם, to make it agree grammatically with לחלקים to which he meant it to refer, and would have pointed out to him that לו might be mistaken to refer to שהמקום and might thus lead to impossible suggestion of emending המקום to read המקומם. But inasmuch as Crescas evidently had submitted his text to nobody for revision, nor had he revised it himself (cf. pp. 703-704), our duty is to find out what he meant to say, and in the light of this to explain what he actually does say.

(b) In the passage שסביב קטבי הכדור דבר נח (p. 198, l. 3) Guttman makes two emendations. First, he changes שסביב to שסובב. Second, he changes קטבי to קטרי. The passage thus emended reads: שסובב קטרי הכדור דבר נח.

The first change evidently has suggested itself to Guttman by his desire to rewrite the text of Crescas in order to make it read like the underlying sources reproduced in the notes. In these sources instead of the preposition סביב the finite verb יסובב is used. But if Guttman's שסובב is to be taken, as it evidently must, in the sense of "moving circularly" and not simply in the sense of "surrounding"—for otherwise his suggested change would be quite purposeless—then it would be necessary for him further to emend the text by inserting the preposition על before דבר נח. In the underlying sources quoted by me the expressions read גשם נח עליו יסובב and גשם נח עליו יסובב (p. 451, n. 70). But if we were to emend the *Or Adonai* on the basis of its underlying literary sources, then we should have to rewrite large portions of the work. The fact is, departure from his

literary sources is one of the characteristic features of Crescas' method of literary composition. Such examples of departure occur even in places where there is no obvious reason for them and they occur often even at the expense of clearness. The explanation I have offered for this is that "the collection of material and especially the abstracts of literature used in the composition of the work were prepared by students" (cf. p. 23, and p. 30). In this particular instance there is no conceivable need for the emendation suggested by Guttman.

Similarly unnecessary is the change of קטרי to קטב. The Hebrew קטב is the Arabic قطب, the latter of which means both (a) axis and (b) either extremity of an axis. So also the equivalent Greek term πόλος means both axis and either extremity of an axis. In the sense of *axis* the term קטב is thus the equivalent of the term קטר which means *diameter*. While the prevalent meaning of קטב in Hebrew philosophic literature is that of the extremity of an axis, its use in the sense of axis is not unknown. Thus in *Emunot we-De'ot*, I, 3, Fifth Theory, in the statement והוא שלקחתי קטבי (אقطב) דבריהם וסבבתי עליהם (לולב) העיין (Kitâb al-Amânât wa'l-I'tiqâdât, ed. S. Landauer, p. 49) it is quite clear that the Hebrew קטבי as well as the Arabic اقطاب is used in the sense of "axis" about which the אופן, *wheel*, or the לולב, *tube*, turns. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the use of the term אופן in Judah Ibn Tibbon's translation would seem to indicate that he had before him the reading دولاب, *wheel*, instead of لولب, *tube*. The term קטרי, suggested by Guttman, would mean here *diameters* which would be practically the same as the term קטבי in the sense of *axes*. The meaning of the passage as I have explained in my notes is the same whether we read קטבי or קטרי. It is as follows: Given a sphere which rotates on various axes (קטרי), in my reading, or diameters (קטרי), in Guttman's reading, then at the crossing point of these axes, or rather at the centre of the sphere (ל. 3: שסביב קטבי = הכדור = l. 4: שהנקודה אשר במרכזו או בקטבים), there would be something stationary. In my English translation, however, the term "pole" is inaccurately used. Without consulting dictionaries I substituted it for the term "axis" which I had originally

used, assuming that like the Greek *πόλος* it is used both in the sense of axis and in the sense of either extremity of an axis, and somehow associated it with the word "pole" in the sense of "rod"—an erroneous association which, I have since discovered, is quite common. These two words in English, as I have now learned, have different etymologies, and the English "pole," which corresponds to the Greek *πόλος*, is never used in the sense of "axis" but always in the sense of the "extremity of an axis." Evidently, this English word has been derived not directly from the Greek but indirectly through the Latin *polus*, which is likewise used only in the sense of the "extremity of an axis." Consequently, in my translation, the term "axis" should be used for the term "pole." But there is no need for changing the reading קטבי to קטרי on the ground urged by Guttman, though realizing how easy it was for the author or copyist to confuse קטבי and קטרי I could not oppose the reading קטרי by reason of my general opposition to unnecessary conjectural emendation. All I contend is that in this instance either word can be used with equal propriety. I have retained the extant reading because there was no compelling reason for changing it.

(c) In the passage (העבור) הנה מלא כל הארץ כבודו שהוא יסוד העיבור (העבור) Guttman suggests to change יסוד העיבור to יסוד העובי. Now, if a term meaning "crass," "coarse," or "gross" would satisfy him in this context, why not change it to יסוד העיבור or יסוד העכור or still better to יסוד העפר? Any one of these readings would be better than his יסוד העובי, inasmuch as they would all retain the final ר. But the very fact that as soon as a conjectural emendation is suggested there appear at once three equally good terms to which the extant reading can be changed shows how hazardous and arbitrary such emendations are. But I have shown, and I believe quite convincingly (pp. 459-462, notes 92-93), that the entire passage with its use of the term כבוד reflects Cabalistic discussions of the Sefirot and this naturally leads one to expect that the term יסוד העיבור must likewise contain an allusion to Cabalistic terminology. To change it to any other term would destroy that allusion and would thus strip the term of the special significance which we feel it must have here in this particular Cabalistic context.



In a private communication, Dr. G. Scholem, of the Hebrew University, suggests that Crescas' explanation of מלא כל הארץ בטרם המלאה by יסוד העיבור reflects the Biblical expression *the body of the pregnant* (Eccles. 11, 5). This is an excellent suggestion. But his contention that this dispenses with the assumption that the term יסוד העיבור contains an allusion to the Sefirot does not follow. On the contrary, it may be taken as a corroboration of that assumption.

2. Crescas' statement ולזה גם כן לא יתחייב שגדר הבלתי בעל תכלית יצדק על חלקיו כמו שלא יתחייב זה בקו הלא יתחייב הרכבה (p. 178, ll. 24-26) is the most difficult in the entire work. It is most difficult because it is most deceptive by its simplicity. Ostensibly it maintains that an infinite is not to be thought of as composed of infinites any more than a mathematical line is to be thought of as composed of points—which is an obvious truism. And this is the sense in which all students of Crescas who happened to comment upon this passage had taken it to mean. In my discussion of this passage (n. 1, pp. 391-396) I noticed the difficulty of this simple understanding of the passage and suggested an explanation which would remove that difficulty. The explanation consists in a distinction supposed to have been in the mind of Crescas between divisibility and compositeness. According to this distinction it would be possible to speak of an immaterial infinite, which is infinite by its essence, to be divisible into parts which are similarly infinite in their essence without necessarily having to assume that the definition of an infinite as that which is without limits would apply to those parts and thus also without having to assume that the whole would be composed of parts which are infinites in the sense of being actually without limits. The analogy of the mathematical, I have shown, was introduced by Crescas only for the purpose of illustrating the distinction between divisibility and compositeness. Now, one can argue back and forth against this distinction as one can argue back and forth against similar subtle distinctions made by all mediaeval philosophers and by Crescas himself elsewhere. In fact, the discovery, maintenance, and rejection of imperceptible distinctions of this kind are the constituent elements of the

greater part of the philosophic speculations found in mediaeval writings. The critical student of these writings, however, must constantly be on his guard against turning himself into a contemporary of the authors whom he studies and against engaging himself in a discussion of the intrinsic merits of the arguments which he is trying to interpret. All he is called upon to do is to establish the plausible reasonableness of those arguments. Still more must he guard himself against the temptation of removing difficulties of texts by making the authors of the texts say things which are contrary to what they actually do say. In the passage in question I have shown the plausible reasonableness of the argument which I assume to lie behind the very words used by Crescas, without attempting to change those words. Consequently my interpretation must stand until it is challenged by some other and more plausible interpretation, and one which could be equally construed with the text as it now reads.

But Guttman offers an interpretation of the text which makes Crescas say what he does not say. He thinks that Crescas' argument could be strengthened by drawing an analogy not between an infinite and a "mathematical line" but between the infinite and a "mathematical circle," and consequently he makes Crescas use that analogy of a "mathematical circle." To quote: "Das will auch das Beispiel von der mathematischen Linie sagen. So wenig wie der Teil eines Kreises wieder ein Kreis ist, braucht der Teil eines Unendlichen ein Unendliches zu sein." But I should like to ask Professor Guttman the following question. Crescas says definitely בקו הלימודי, which means "mathematical line" and not a "mathematical circle" for which the terms in Hebrew would be בעגול הלימודי. Does Guttman mean to say that when Crescas explicitly wrote קו he meant עגול? Or, does he mean to emend the text here and change קו to עגול?

3. In my interpretation of Crescas' argument against Altabrizi I have shown that the argument is based upon a distinction between the infinite and what is known as the indefinite. This distinction is not only implied in this particular passage, offering a rational interpretation of the argument contained in it, but it is also implied in the passages quoted in the same note and

in subsequent notes. The distinction has not been read by me into this passage out of a desire to make Crescas anticipate Spinoza, for as far as this particular distinction is concerned, Spinoza had before him more immediate and much more explicit sources from which he could have derived it, as I have shown in my essay on Spinoza referred to in that note. (This essay has since been reprinted in my *The Philosophy of Spinoza*, Vol. I, Ch. VIII). The interpretation offered by Guttmann for the passage is only a paraphrase of the text, and if it is to be made to mean anything, it must be assumed to imply that distinction between the infinite and the indefinite which he rejects.

4. On p. 198, ll. 14–15 I take the passage *וכבר היה ראוי להיות כן, כי המקום היה ראוי שיהיה שוה למקומם כלו וחלקיו* which follows Crescas' own conclusion with regard to the definition of place, as an additional argument in support of his conclusion which in itself has been arrived at after a series of other arguments. The opening words *וכבר היה ראוי להיות כן* quite obviously indicate that supplementary nature of the argument. I have furthermore reproduced a passage from Albo's *Ikkarim*, where it occurs among other arguments taken from Crescas, and have shown how Albo's more elaborate restatement of the argument throws light upon this brief and almost meaningless statement of Crescas (p. 199, n. 80). In another place I have shown that in this elaborate restatement of Crescas' brief argument we may see "a faint echo of the classroom discussion of Crescas' lectures on philosophy" (p. 30). Now, Guttmann does not raise any objection against the interpretation I have given of this argument in the light of its paraphrase by Albo. He only expresses his disagreement and says that this argument in question refers to the argument previously stated by Crescas more fully on p. 196, ll. 5–14.

Now, I am going to show that this argument cannot be a restatement of the argument on p. 196, ll. 5–14.

*First*, Crescas enumerates three main arguments against Aristotle's definition of place (pp. 194–196), and then as a result of these arguments he gives his own definition of place (p. 198, ll. 13–14). If the passage under consideration, which immediately follows this definition, is, as Guttmann says, a repetition of the

second of the three arguments previously advanced by Crescas, the question may be raised, What need was there for Crescas to repeat himself? Why did he not repeat the other two arguments? There is nothing peculiar about the second argument that Crescas should want to repeat it more than the other two. Certainly what is required here is a new additional argument in corroboration of his conclusion—perhaps an argument which occurred to Crescas only after he had arrived at his conclusion.

*Second*, verbally this argument does not agree with the second of Crescas' three arguments to which Guttman makes it refer. The second argument reasons from the use of three terms, namely, *מקף*, *שור*, and *גברל*, which according to Aristotle are all essential to his definition of place (cf. p. 443, n. 60). In this passage Crescas reasons only from the use of the term *שור*; the other two terms do not occur in it. The argument does, however, verbally agree with Albo's argument, for Albo's argument, too, reasons only from the term *שור*. Furthermore, in Albo this argument is given in addition to another argument which, as I have shown in my notes, reflects Crescas' second argument (cf. pp. 448–449).

5. On p. 686, after discussing Crescas' classification of the nine accidents into two groups, one including quantity, figure and position, which he characterizes as inseparable, and the other including the remaining accidents, which he characterizes as separable, I say "a similar division of accidents is found" in Algazali. I quote and translate Algazali's passage in which the accidents are divided into two groups, one including quality and quantity, characterized by him as accidents "the conception of whose essence does not require the conception of something external," and the other including the remaining accidents, characterized by him as "those which require attention to something external." In the course of my discussion, in order to establish the similarity between these two twofold classifications of accidents, I explain in note 5, p. 687, that Crescas' "figure" and Algazali's "quantity" in the first group of accidents mean the same thing. Then in note 8, p. 689–690, I explain why "position" is placed by Crescas in the first group of accidents and by Algazali in the second group of accidents, my explanation



being that the term "position" is used by them in two different senses. Nowhere in my discussion do I say that Crescas and Algazali characterize their respective twofold classifications of accidents by the same terms. I purposely avoided making such a statement because I did not want to enter into a discussion of that question, which I had in mind to reserve for some other occasion. So guarded was I against committing myself to such a statement that toward the end of note 8, p. 690, in trying to explain why Algazali does not include "position" with "quality" and "quantity," i. e., Crescas' "inseparable" accidents, I was careful in saying that Algazali "includes 'position' among the accidents which *Crescas* characterizes as 'separable'."

Now Guttman has nothing to say with regard to the similarity between the two classifications and with regard to my arguments proving that the two classifications are essentially the same despite their apparent differences, but he argues that Crescas describes his twofold classification as "inseparable" and "separable" whereas Algazali describes them by some other terms, which I have myself reproduced in my notes, and he somehow implies that all I was trying to do was to say that both Crescas and Algazali describe their respective twofold classifications by the same terms—something which I did not discuss at all. As for the question whether Crescas' and Algazali's two characterizations of their respective twofold classifications are the same or not I also differ from Guttman. But I shall not discuss it here, as this is not a point at issue at the present.

6. Professor Guttman agrees with my historical analysis of the concept of duration and with my tracing it to Plotinus. But he thinks that I have gone too far in my analogy between Crescas (and also Albo) and Plotinus. Despite his demur, I still maintain the correctness of my statement that if indefinite time or duration is assumed, as it is by Crescas and Albo, to be independent of motion and to exist in mind only, then if such indefinite time is said to have existed before the creation of the world it is to be assumed that it existed, like everything else prior to creation, in the thought of God, and in this sense only have I said in connection with Albo and later also in connection with Crescas that "prior to the existence of our thought, we may be justified



in assuming that Albo conceived it [duration] to be the activity of God's thinking just as Plotinus conceived it to be the activity of the universal soul" (p. 657). As against this Guttmann argues that such an analogy would imply that the thinking activity of God would be temporal as the thinking activity of Plotinus' universal soul. In this argument Guttmann is overlooking one important distinction. The thinking activity of Plotinus' universal soul which constitutes indefinite time or duration is itself not temporal. It becomes temporal only by the fact that it is measured by the motion of the spheres which co-exist with the universal soul. Consequently, if we assume that indefinite time or duration prior to the creation of the world is identical with the activity of God's thinking, this by itself logically would not imply temporality in God's thinking.

But Guttmann maintains that not only would it logically imply temporality in God but that it would also contradict the view explicitly expressed by Crescas, Albo, and all the mediaeval philosophers. "Sie müsste dazu führen, dass dem Denken Gottes, wie dem Leben der Weltseele bei Plotin, eine zeitartige Erstreckung zugeschrieben würde, während Crescas und Albo mit allen anderen mittelalterlichen Denkern die absolute Überzeitlichkeit Gottes behaupten." This statement is correct only in part—in that part of it which refers to Albo. The reference to mediaeval thinkers in general and to Crescas in particular is too sweeping and not quite correct. The facts in the case are briefly as follows: Those who define time after Aristotle as something connected with motion naturally deny any ascription of temporal relation to God, as, for instance, Maimonides in *Moreh Nebukim* I, 52. Those, however, who like Plotinus define time only as a definite portion of indefinite time or duration and make the latter independent of motion differ on the problem of the applicability of indefinite time or duration to God. The problem is openly discussed in scholastic philosophy (cf. Suarez, *Disputationes Metaphysicae*, Disp. L, Sec. III, II, Genevae, 1614, Tom. II, p. 458). In Jewish philosophy, while there is no open discussion of the problem, a difference of opinion may be discovered. Crescas, for instance, as a result of his rejection of the Aristotelian definition of time argues against Maimonides

for the admission of attributes implying temporal relation, evidently meaning by that indefinite time or duration (cf. *Or Adonai*, I, iii, 3, ed. Vienna, p. 23b; cf. also my "Crescas on Problem of Divine Attributes," in *Jewish Quarterly Review* n. s. VII (1916), pp. 181-182). Albo, on the other hand, excludes not only definite time but also indefinite time or duration, or, as he calls it, absolute time, as an attribute of God (*Ikkarim*, II, 18). I have touched upon this aspect of the problem in my *The Philosophy of Spinoza*, Vol. I, pp. 363, 369.

7. In his criticism of my interpretation of the last passage in Crescas' criticism of Maimonides' Proposition VIII, Guttman argues, in effect, that what we expect here is a total rejection of Maimonides' proposition on the part of Crescas in order to make it impossible for Maimonides to use it in his first proof of the existence of God, whereas according to my interpretation Crescas does not reject the proposition but only limits its application. All I can say to this is that my interpretation of the passage in question in Crescas' criticism of Proposition VIII was not worked out without regard to its bearing upon Crescas' criticism of Maimonides' proofs of the existence of God. In my study of Crescas' criticism of these proofs, which by a regrettable last-minute decision has been omitted from my *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, I show how the limited application of Proposition VIII was sufficient for Crescas to disqualify it as a supporting premise in Maimonides' first proof for the existence of God.

#### Heinemann

Throughout the work I have quoted extensively from the unpublished commentaries of Averroes. Many of these quotations are parallels of passages I have quoted from Maimonides or of Maimonides' propositions upon which my discussion was based. Still these innumerable passages did not impress me as indicating any knowledge on the part of Maimonides of the writings of his contemporary Averroes, and so on pp. 322-323, where I raise the question of Maimonides' knowledge of Averroes, I make the general statement that "a sort of argument from silence would seem to point to the conclusion that the *Moreh* was written in

complete ignorance of the works of Averroes" and then proceed to discuss the question from the testimonies of Crescas, Shem-Tob, Joseph Kaspi, and Isaac Abravanel. To all this Heinemann makes the laconic comment: "Gegen W's Meinung dass Maimuni im More Ibn Roschd nicht benutzt habe, vgl. Munk, Guide III, 86.3." The reader will undoubtedly be led to believe that the passage in Munk referred to contains definite proof that Maimonides did make use of Averroes in the *Moreh*. But nothing of the kind is to be found there. All that Munk does is to quote Averroes' interpretation of *Physics*, II, 7, 198a, 24f., after he has shown that that passage in the *Physics* is the basis of a statement by Maimonides in *Moreh*, III, 13. Munk introduces his quotation from Averroes by the following words: "Ce passage, que Maimonide a eu sans doute en vue, est ainsi expliqué par Averroës." I do not know for what purpose Munk has quoted Averroes there. Maybe it was merely for illustrative purposes. Certainly it was not for the purpose of showing the dependence of Maimonides upon Averroes, for there is nothing in the content or the form of these two passages to show such a dependence. Both these passages are merely expanded paraphrases of Aristotle, the like of which is to be found in Themistius and probably also in the other commentaries on Aristotle accessible to both Averroes and Maimonides. The only distinctive expression which occurs in both these passages is *unum secundum subjectum* in Averroes (according to the Latin version quoted by Munk) and (אחד במין, ואחד באלנוע) in Maimonides. But the fact that one uses *subjectum* and the other מין (*species*) shows that the two passages are independent of each other. Maimonides' use of אחד במין, furthermore, reflects the expressions τὸ εἶδαι ταὐτὸ τοῦτοις used by Aristotle (198a, 26), ταὐτὸν ὧν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος probably used by Themistius (ed. Schenkl, 57, 24n.), and τὸ εἶδαι μόνον used by Simplicius (ed. Diels, 364, 10). Though Simplicius' commentary on the *Physics* is not known to have been translated into Arabic, still the passage from which the expression quoted is taken may have been copied by Simplicius from Alexander's lost commentary on the *Physics* of which there was an Arabic translation. Incidentally I may remark that Averroes' statement that the efficient,

formal, and final causes "sunt unum secundum subjectum" is the opposite of Simplicius' statement οὐ κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐδὲ τῷ ἀριθμῷ ταύτων ἐστίν (364, 9-10).

2. "So lassen die sprachgeschichtlichen Ausführungen das Syrische ganz ausser Betracht." The desirability of consulting the Syriac translations of Aristotle for a reconstruction of the history of the transmission of Aristotelian terminology and philosophy has been a truism ever since Steinschneider called attention to it in his *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (1897), p. 6. That I was not unconscious of this fact I have made quite clear when I referred to the uninterrupted continuity of Aristotelian scholarship "from the days of the Lyceum through the Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew schools of philosophy" (p. 7). The reviewer, however, does not seem to be aware of the fact that to a large extent this desired end will have to remain unfulfilled, owing to the unavailability, with the exception of some parts of the *Organon*, of the Syriac translations of Aristotle. But apart from this general observation, his stricture is entirely irrelevant. In the work reviewed by him, I had before me certain specific problems of terminology to deal with, well-nigh 500 in number. The only pertinent question is this: In how many instances have I failed to consult available Syriac texts which I should have consulted? Or, to how many instances can the reviewer point where the absence of the Syriac equivalents has led to an erroneous conclusion? I assume, of course, that the reviewer did not mean that even if there was no appropriate text to quote, I should have supplied the missing Syriac link by conjecture and with the help of lexicons, merely for the sake of adorning my pages with Syriac characters.

3. "Aber auch die Verwertung des griechischen Denkens bei W. (der die doxographische Überlieferung nach Plutarch statt nach Diels zitiert) ist unzureichend." I shall leave the reviewer's general comment out of consideration. In the court of learning no less than in the court of justice an indictment must rest upon evidence. But let us consider his definite charge that I quote Plutarch rather than Diels. In order to clarify the nature of the issue raised by Heinemann I may say that in my notes I have quoted certain views of Greek philosophy needed for my purpose



from the *De Placitis Philosophorum*, which is traditionally ascribed to Plutarch and is included in every edition of Plutarch's works. To this Heinemann objects and contends that I should have quoted these views from Diels' *Doxographi Graeci* where the *De Placitis* is reproduced in parallel columns with Stobaeus' *Eclogae*. Heinemann evidently has not examined the purpose of my quotations from Plutarch. Plutarch is quoted in my book six times. Once he is quoted for the purpose of getting the right shade of meaning of a Hebrew term translated from the Arabic (p. 588). Once again he is quoted for the purpose of accounting for the occurrence of a certain phrase in certain Arabic and Hebrew reproductions of Aristotle's definition of place which does not occur in Aristotle himself (p. 363). Once more he is quoted for the purpose of getting an exact formulation of Plato's definition of time (p. 639). Three times he is quoted for the purpose of getting a clear formulation of different views on gravity and levity (p. 411) and on vacuum (pp. 400, 417), which in the passages quoted by me from Aristotle were only vaguely described. In all these six instances it was not simply Greek sources that I needed, but a Greek source which was known at least to Arabic authors. Plutarch was such a source, for his *De Placitis Philosophorum* was translated into Arabic. As for Stobaeus, however, there is no record that he was known to Arabic philosophers. Under these circumstances, I submit that it would have been stupid for me to quote from Diels rather than from Plutarch.

4. In the sixth chapter of my Introduction I pointed out a general similarity between Crescas and the sixteenth century critics of Aristotle. All of them, I said, tried to free themselves from the thralldom of Aristotle by turning to the views of "the early Greek philosophers" (p. 114). The particular views which I discussed there in this connection are: (1) the existence of a vacuum, (2) the identification of space with the vacuum, (3) the infinity of that space, (4) the plurality of worlds, and (5) atomism. All these views are well known to have been held by pre-Aristotelian philosophers and are constantly referred to and argued against by Aristotle himself in passages which I have quoted in my Notes. Now let us see what my reviewer has to



say about all this: [1] "Natürlich sieht W., dass der Aristotelismus bereits im Altertum seine Gegner hatte und dass deren Einspruch im Mittelalter nachwirkt. [2] Aber der einzige ernsthafte Wettbewerber, den W. berücksichtigt (S. 120), ist der Atomismus." The first sentence, it will be noticed, is an inaccurate restatement of what I have said. I did not speak of the opposition to Aristotle found among his successors, but of the views of his predecessors, "the early Greek philosophers," rejected by Aristotle. This misunderstanding of my reference to "the early Greek philosophers" has led him to his second sentence which is wrong both as a statement of what is known about the views of these early Greek philosophers and as a restatement of my discussion of the subject, for certainly Heinemann cannot deny the accuracy of my attribution to the pre-Aristotelian philosophers the views which I have enumerated above in addition to atomism, namely, the existence of a vacuum, the identification of space with the vacuum, the infinity of that space, and the plurality of worlds.

5. The reviewer then proceeds to suggest: "In Wahrheit weisen manche der von W. hervorgehobenen Abweichungen mindestens ebenso sehr auf den Einfluss der Stoa (s. o. S. 480): so die Vereinheitlichung des Weltbildes (S. 118f.) und der Ersatz des nur denkenden Gottes durch den wollenden und schaffenden (S. 122f.; dazu Heinemann, Poseidonios' met. Schr. II, 34f.). With regard to the first statement, all I can say is that there is nothing in the Stoic teachings corresponding to particular phases of the continuity of nature which I happen to discuss on p. 118f. With regard to the second statement, I must say again that on p. 122f. I do not discuss the "Ersatz des nur denkenden Gottes durch den wollenden und schaffenden." What I do discuss there is the substitution of an immaterial God by a God who is predicated by the attribute of extension. Were I to discuss the "Ersatz des nur denkenden Gottes durch den wollenden und schaffenden" in Crescas or in Jewish philosophy in general, I would certainly not attribute it to the influence of the Stoics.

6. Once the reviewer has introduced the Stoics, he digresses from his review to suggest that the Stoics are responsible for Crescas' views on the soul and on determinism, neither of which problems is discussed by me in the work under consideration.

I have no means of knowing what the reviewer's conception of Crescas' views on the soul and determinism are. According to my conception of Crescas' position on these problems, the assumption of a Stoic influence is gratuitous and impossible. Equally gratuitous is the reviewer's suggestion that Crescas' view on the love of God was formed under the influence of Christian theology. Certainly the reviewer cannot be unacquainted with the history of that concept in Hebrew literature.

7. In the Preface of my work (p. IX) I make the statement that the Talmudic method applied by Crescas to the study of Aristotle will be applied by me to the study of Crescas. In the chapter on method (pp. 24-29) I give an analysis of what I consider the logic underlying the Talmudic method of text-study which I characterize as the "hypothetico-deductive method of text interpretation" (p. 25). In the course of my discussion I say: "Now, this method of text interpretation is sometimes derogatorily referred to as Talmudic quibbling or pilpul. In truth it is nothing but the application of the scientific method to the study of texts" (p. 27). In criticism of this the reviewer says: "Nach S. 24ff. soll er nach talmudischer Methode arbeiten; diese Behauptung kann aber nicht überzeugen, da W. die Unterschiede dieser Methode von derjenigen des Aristoteles und seiner Kommentare garnicht herausarbeitet." Evidently the reviewer wanted to object to something I have said, but could not make up his mind whether to object to my identification of the Talmudic with the scientific method or to accept my identification and then, on that score, to object to the description of my method as Talmudic, and so he combined the two objections and finds fault with my use of the expression "Talmudic method" on the ground that I failed to explain how it differs from the scientific method. Now, I do not feel that I have to apologize for my describing the subtleties of reasoning displayed by Crescas in handling philosophic texts as a manifestation in the field of philosophy of the traditional native Jewish method of studying texts which is generally associated with Talmudic literature. Nor do I feel the need of apologizing for the statement that in attempting to retrace the processes of Crescas' reasoning I have consciously followed this old method of Jewish learning, though

externally I have tried to conform to all the accepted canons of modern scholarship. But realizing the prevalent misconceptions about this native method of Jewish learning I felt it my duty to show by an analysis of it that it is essentially a scientific method of text-study. That I have succeeded in my attempt to rehabilitate this misunderstood Talmudic method is quite evident from the reviewer's complaint that he finds no difference between it and the method followed in the best type of scholarly research.

But while Heinemann seems to have become so much convinced of the scientific nature of the Talmudic method that he objects to my singling it out as something peculiar, my friend and colleague, Dr. George Sarton, in his review of *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle* in *Isis*, XIV (1930), pp. 240-244, contends that in my statement that "Pilpul is nothing but the application of the scientific method to the study of texts" I confuse "the truth in the worst manner." "For," he continues, "the essence of the scientific method is precisely not to stop at words but to investigate as directly as possible the realities which these words are meant to represent. . . . From that point of view, pilpul is as antagonistic to scientific thinking as anything can be" (*ibid.*, pp. 242-243). In this criticism Dr. Sarton has committed a fallacy which in the language of the logic of pilpul may be described as the fallacy of "wheat "and "barley." What I have tried to establish in my description of pilpul on pp. 24-27 may be reduced to a formula which runs as follows:

Pilpul to the *study of text* is as  
Scientific method to the *study of nature*.

What Dr. Sarton argues against is a formula which runs as follows:

Pilpul to the *study of nature* is as  
Scientific method to the *study of nature*.

8. In the sixth chapter of my Introduction I say: "In the history of philosophy, the opposition to Aristotle had at various times assumed different forms. Aristotle was opposed, because some of his views were found to contradict certain Biblical

traditions; he was also opposed, because his reasoning on many important points was found to be logically unsustainable; and finally he was opposed, because the method of his approach to the study of nature was found to be empirically inadequate" (p. 124). With regard to Crescas, I say that his criticism of Aristotle belongs to the second of the three stages I have enumerated. As against this the reviewer says: "Das genügt nicht. C. bekämpft vielmehr als bewusster Jude und als religiös fühlender Mensch den Anspruch des 'Griechen' (W. 539!) auf Erkenntnis des letzten Lebensziels, da ein solcher Anspruch der Thora und ihrem unvergleichlichen Wert zu nahe trete; er empfindet überdies, ähnlich wie Gazzali, Jehuda Hallewi und später Cordovero, die Unmöglichkeit, auf die aristotelische Metaphysik Religion zu begründen." The reviewer, as will be noticed, is confusing here the motives which he thinks had prompted Crescas and the others in refusing to accept Aristotle's philosophy as the basis of their religion and the technique they employed in refuting the Aristotelian philosophy itself. Whatever their motives, and I have touched upon it in a general way on p. 13 in my Introduction, the technique used by Gazzali, Jehudah Hallewi, and Crescas belongs to what I describe as the second kind of criticism of Aristotle. They do not hurl Biblical verses against Aristotle, nor do they hurl weights down from the leaning tower of Pisa. They all try to show that Aristotle's reasoning is fallacious. Let anyone read a few consecutive pages in Gazzali's *Tahafut al-Falasifah*, or in the Fifth Part of Jehudah Hallewi's *Cuzari*, or in the text of Crescas reproduced in my book, and he will become convinced of the truth of my contention. Thus also, for instance, a theologian of today, who may refute the metaphysical assumptions of modern science by arguments drawn from experimental science, may still be actuated in his criticism by the same motives as Crescas, Jehudah Hallewi and Gazzali.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO CRESCAS' CRITIQUE  
OF ARISTOTLE

1. P. 421, end of n. 35. In connection with my attempt to explain how the Arabic حركه in the Iḥwan al-Ṣafa's classification of discrete quantities came to stand for Aristotle's λόγος in his classification of discrete quantities in *Categories*, 6, 4b, 20–25, I may add that the connecting link may be the Greek προφορά which combines the ideas of both movement and utterance. Thus in *Enneads* II, ix, 1, Plotinus speaks of κίνησις καὶ προφορά (ed. Creuzer et Moser, Paris, 1855, p. 94, ll. 29–30). Furthermore, in *Enneads*, I, ii, 3, he describes λόγος ἐν προφορᾷ as something discrete-μεμερισμένος (*ibid.*, p. 10, ll. 22–23).

2. Pp. 594–598, n. 24. A parallel to Crescas' insistence upon the removal of the distinction between the matter of the sublunar elements and the matter of the translunar bodies (cf. pp. 103–104) may be found in Bruno's *De Immenso et Innumerabilibus*, Liber IV, Cap. 1–2. The following are the headings of these two chapters: "Caput I. Septem argumenta quibus Arist. et alii probant diversam esse substantiam corporum superiorum et inferiorum istorum. Caput II. Responsio ad argumenta haec et similia." Descartes takes a similar position on the same problem in *Principia Philosophiae*, II, 22: "Thus the matter of the heavens and of the earth is one and the same."

3. P. 626, n. 22. Additional parallels to the principle maintained here by Crescas are to be found in Descartes, *Principia Philosophiae*, II, 41, reproduced by Spinoza in *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae*, II, Prop. 19.

4. P. 641, end of n. 11. The analogy between flowing water and time which is used by Abraham bar Ḥiyya and Hillel of Verona is reproduced by Abraham Herrera in the name of Torquato Tasso in *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim*, III, 4: "But as for time, which is an image and likeness of it [i. e., eternity], it is like a flowing stream, swift in its course, quick in its activity, the activity of motion, and in the course of its motion parts of it pass away and disappear and other parts come into being and take their place."

אמנם הזמן אשר נהווה בדמותו וצלמו, הנו כנהר שוטף קל המרוץ מהיר



במלאכתו מלאכת התנועה, ועם מרוצתו ותנועתו יכלה ויפסיד חלקיו הראשונים ויחדש וירויח במקומם אחרים.

The analogy is used by Plutarch after his restatement of the view, which he ascribes to the Stoics, that there is "a time future and past but no time present": "These men's conception, therefore, of time is not unlike the grasping of water, which, the harder it is held, the more it slides and runs away" (*De Communibus Notitiis Adversus Stoicos*, XLI-XLII).



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